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MANAGING THE MEANING
Of
TONGARIRO WORLD HERITAGE SITE:
CONSERVATION, CULTURE AND GOVERNMENT

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2005

DECLARATION

I, _____ declare
Catherine TURK

that this thesis is my own work & that this work has
not been submitted for any other degree or
professional qualification.

2005

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the culture and practices of the UNESCO World Heritage system – an international system of conservation governance that catalogues the ‘most outstanding’ heritage sites in the world. World Heritage (WH) status is perhaps the ultimate bureaucratic accolade of spatial identity. In this work I examine what happens to these places once they have been designated as World Heritage of ‘universal’ significance.

Recounting the recent history of one site, Tongariro National Park (New Zealand), I discuss the consequences of World Heritage designation and the inter-relations that constitute the World Heritage system of government. Since Tongariro was designated ‘World Heritage’ the place has become bound within a system of government, with material and symbolic consequences. The World Heritage system is the product of an international network of agents. Seeking to avoid what Massey (2002) terms the ‘Russian doll’ conceptualisation of local, national and ‘global’, I examine how World Heritage sites are at once local and ‘global’ inventions. My methodological approach therefore tracks between the different places where the World Heritage institution is enacted. Localities of World Heritage practice include: the National Park, the administrative World Heritage Centre, the Pacific UNESCO office, and the World Heritage Bureau and World Heritage Committee rooms. Through ethnographic work, textual analysis and interviews, I have examined the politics and practices of World Heritage administration. I observe how agents move between these localities, producing a technologic of government as they circulate. I consider management of Tongariro as actions within a network, working with Latour’s and others’ (re)configurations of Actor Network Theory. This approach leads me to focus on the relations between actors.

The thesis describes the way actors relate to produce Tongariro World Heritage site, drawing upon theoretical approaches from science studies and cultural geography. I identify mechanisms for conferring this new identity. Places are *inscribed* into World Heritage discourse. World Heritage is *instituted* through the processes of government that shape the World Heritage site and World Heritage system. The symbolic power of World Heritage is *invoked* as World Heritage subjects make interventions in the institution. Examining processes of translation between local and ‘global’ contexts in this way, I sort out the means by which World Heritage operates.

As the World Heritage Convention has recently celebrated its 30th anniversary, I consider the consequences for sites classified under this system. I argue the importance of not simply reflecting on ‘conservation outcomes’, but examining methods of practice. This research is therefore of direct interest to the heritage conservation community and also sheds light on more general experiences of transnational governance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DoC	Department of Conservation (New Zealand)
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation & Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS); and the
IUCN	World Conservation Union
UNESCO	United Nations Social and Cultural Organisation
WH	World Heritage

GLOSSARY

Advisory Bodies	Non-Governmental Organisations with an established role in World Heritage. At present the key Advisory Bodies are: the World Conservation Union (IUCN); International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS); and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation & Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM))
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He Kaupapa Rangatira Maori Conservation Philosophy

Hui	A meeting or gathering
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Inscription	The process of nominating a site to the World Heritage List
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Iwi	A Maori tribe, or group of families. I can also be used more broadly to talk about the Maori community.
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Kaitiaki/ kaitiakitanga	Environmental stewardship, in Maori terms.
Karakia	A prayer

Kaupapa	Philosophy
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Kaupapa Atawhai	The name given to Maori liaison officers employed by the Department of Conservation ('Kaupapa atawhai' mean literally 'the philosophy of looking after resources')
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Kaumātua	Senior Maori person, Senior member of an iwi
Kāwanatanga	Government
Lahar	A lahar is a type of geo-physical event associated with volcanic activity. It is a flash flood caused by disrupted hydrological regimes, following a volcanic explosion.
Mana	Spirit, honour and charisma
Management Plan	A text used to guide conservation action within National Parks
Nga taonga o te Ao	The words used for ‘World Heritage’ in Maori. It literally means “the treasures of the world”.
Ngati Rangi and Ngati Tuwharetoa	These are the two main iwi with rohe within the Tongariro National Park. ‘Ngati’ refers to an iwi, or related group of people.
Nomination dossier	The document compiled by a state party to argue the case for World Heritage Listing
Operational Guidelines	Full title: “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. A UNESCO text based on the World Heritage Convention, that specifies the interactions between main actors, and defines how World Heritage practices should be translated through the system.
Pakeha	The Maori term for a white New Zealander
Periodic Report	A report by a state party to the World Heritage Committee about the management of World Heritage in that country. States parties submit periodic reports every 5 or 6 years, along with other states parties from their region.
Rapporteur	The official minute-taker and ‘secretary’ in a World Heritage Committee meeting. The Rapporteur’s report is the official record of meeting discussion
Rohe	The lands of an iwi, (tribe) or hapu.
State of Conservation Report	A report from a state party to the World Heritage Committee about management of a World Heritage site. This is often requested by the Committee in response to a management issue at the site.
State party	A ‘state party’ is a national government that has become a party to the World Heritage Convention (in this context). The plural form is ‘states parties’.
Tangata whenua	Maori phrase literally meaning “people of the land”. It is a way of identifying Maori with a traditional connection to a region or place.

Taonga	A treasure or gift. See also 'Nga Taonga o te Ao'.
Tapu	Sacred
Tikanga	Protocol
Tino rangitiratanga	Chieftainship
Tongariro-Taupo conservancy	The administrative area of the Department of Conservation, in which Tongariro is managed. The Department of Conservation is responsible for managing the National Parks within this area, primarily Tongariro, as well as conservation matters on all government lands.
Treaty of Waitangi	A Treaty between (some) Maori chiefs and the British Crown, agreed in 1840, during early colonization. The Treaty forms the basis of the current New Zealand government's bi-cultural policy.
wāhi tapu;	Sacred place
World Heritage Bureau	Elected sub-group of 7 States Parties who are members of the World Heritage Committee.
World Heritage Centre	The bureaucratic headquarters of the World Heritage system. The World Heritage Centre is a sub-unit of the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. World Heritage Centre staff provide coordination and secretariat support to the World Heritage Committee.
World Heritage Committee	Elected group of 21 States Parties to the World Heritage Convention. The World Heritage Committee meets annually.
World Heritage Convention	International convention administered by UNESCO. The full title is 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage'.
World Heritage List	The register of sites worldwide that have been nominated and accepted by the World Heritage Committee as having 'outstanding universal value'. There are currently 830 sites.
Whakapapa	Genealogy

1 INTRODUCTION & THESIS OUTLINE

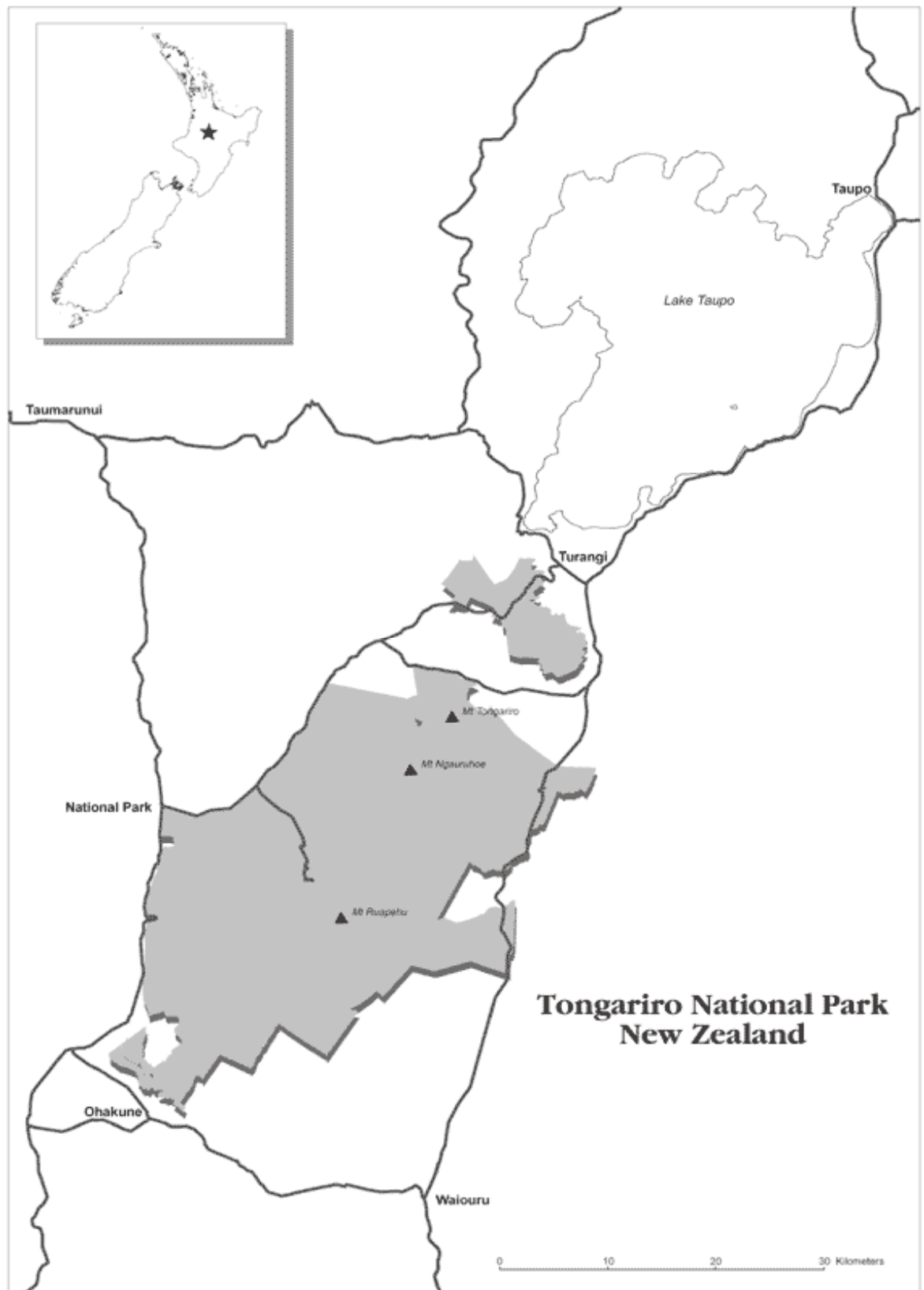
Tongariro and World Heritage Government

PART A - INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the relations between heritage and government. Drawing from the disciplines of geography, science studies and cultural studies, I explore the bureaucratic dimensions of heritage conservation, a set of transnational practices that define and manage places and cultures as heritage sites. 'Heritage' is a keyword in modern culture because it is a means of describing identity and making claims to territory. It refers to those places and objects which are valued as important to *inherit* and to pass on to future generations. I am interested in the 'global' heritage conservation movement and particularly the 'World Heritage Convention', a transnational instrument for promoting the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of 'outstanding universal value'. Heritage government at this global scale is intriguing because, even though it operates through a global imagination, it celebrates the particularities of individual sites and is enacted locally. In this dissertation, I track the relations between global and local heritage governance with reference to one World Heritage site, Tongariro National Park, in New Zealand. I follow the various actors that work to manage this heritage site, whether they be located in national or transnational bureaucracies, scientific or cultural organizations. I consider the World Heritage system as a network of these actors.

Tongariro National Park is a volcanic mountain and forest landscape in the centre of the North Island of New Zealand, which has spiritual significance for Maori people (see Map 1). Tongariro was first declared a World Heritage site in 1990, in recognition of the 'outstanding universal natural values' of the site, and was again declared World Heritage in 1993, for its 'outstanding universal cultural values'.



Map 1 Location of Tongariro National Park, North Island, New Zealand. (Department of Conservation 2002)

Tongariro was the first site to be inscribed on the World Heritage List as an 'associative cultural landscape', a category which recognises the cultural associations that people have with a landscape. In Chapter 2, I describe in greater detail these categories of 'natural' and cultural' values or 'cultural landscape', and how they relate to Tongariro. For the moment, they signify how the designation of Tongariro within a 'global' conservation system produces new dimensions to its identity. Not only does designation mean the site has a new name ('World Heritage') it also embeds it within an official structure of transnational governance.

World Heritage is a transnational movement, administered through an organ of the under the United Nations. The World Heritage Convention was formally adopted by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972 and is a central document in heritage discourse. This international convention has been a successful catalyst for promoting heritage conservation in most countries of the world: 178 out of 190 UNESCO member nations had signed at last count (by March 2005). Several bureaucratic and decision-making bodies have been created or co-opted to see the translation of World Heritage from Convention text into conservation action, forming a sprawling system of World Heritage discourse and practice. My dissertation charts the dimensions of this transnational system, as it relates to the Tongariro World Heritage site.

In 2002 the World Heritage Committee celebrated their 30th year administering the World Heritage Convention. As an introduction to the discourse of this community, the World Heritage Committee's 30th anniversary declaration is an example of vocabulary of the World Heritage system and the organization's current view of heritage conservation. The declaration demonstrates two key elements of World Heritage discourse: repetition and righteousness. It begins:

We, the members of the World Heritage Committee, recognize the universality of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the consequent need to ensure that it applies to heritage in all its diversity, as an instrument for the sustainable development of all societies through dialogue and mutual understanding. *Budapest Declaration prologue* (UNESCO, 28 June 2002)

The Budapest Declaration prologue (as with the rest of that document) is typical of many affirmations of purpose contained within contemporary official discourses of heritage conservation: making reference to a universal cause and seeking support for the principles of sustainable development and mutual understanding. It deliberately harks back to and repeats earlier statements of purpose and, by reinstating the claim to universality with a 'need to ensure it applies to heritage in

all its diversity’ and ‘as an instrument...for all societies’, the declaration demonstrates a righteousness often found in heritage discourse. It is both the sense of righteousness and the ubiquitous repetition of what has been said elsewhere, that I find so fascinating, because statements like the Budapest Declaration are made all the time.

This dissertation takes up these element of the World Heritage system, examining the status that is attached to ‘global’ designation and how the system is manifest in the everyday practices of heritage conservation. I will examine why this discourse continually refers back to itself and discuss how heritage is attributed with a ‘righteousness’, including the charismatic effects of World Heritage status. This study, therefore, places the common sense of heritage as ‘right’ and ‘proper’ under critical scrutiny, not to do away with heritage, but to open out the logics by which it is practiced on the ground.

This chapter introduces the conceptual tools that enable the analysis of heritage discourse and government that follows. It is structured in two main parts. Part A begins with a discussion of the objectives and scope of this research, and introduces the conceptual framework of the thesis, based on the relations between heritage system and heritage site. Part B is a discussion of research methods and an outline of the thesis.

1.2 Objectives and scope

In this dissertation my chief interest is in the relations between ‘global’ heritage governance and heritage as a cultural object. By tracing the connections between Tongariro National Park and the various bureaucratic, scientific and cultural interests that produce and maintain its ‘World Heritage’ designation, I seek to describe how the World Heritage Convention works in practice.

My research is based on the simple aims of finding out how World Heritage is manifest at Tongariro, and how Tongariro exists within the World Heritage system. There are several dimensions to these relations and what follows considers transnational, governmental, technological, topological and cultural perspectives. Incorporating these perspectives in my approach has been central to my aims, which were:

- To consider how local World Heritage sites are represented within 'global' World Heritage discourse, examining both representation in discourse and embodied practice;
- To examine the power relations between the 'global' system of governance and local World Heritage sites;
- To discuss the relationship between culture and World Heritage government;
- To analyse key authorities within the World Heritage system, including scientific expertise and managerial culture; and
- To see how the different participants in the World Heritage system interact, transferring knowledge and practices between sites and between scales.

These objectives are also influenced by my reading of existing studies of (World) heritage practice, which I discuss in detail along with theoretical approaches, in Chapter 2. Other discussions of heritage tend to focus on the conservation of heritage sites themselves, without a critical analysis of the institutional context within which heritage is defined and managed. This thesis differs from many other accounts of heritage because of my emphasis on the bureaucratic practices relating to World Heritage.

Key terms within this discussion of World Heritage conservation are 'global', 'governance' and 'culture'. 'Global' and 'local' relations within the transnational system are exactly those relations that are core to the Budapest Declaration: the relations between a principled law, (the World Heritage Convention), and the subject of conservation concern, ('heritage in all its diversity'). These are relations by which 'global' ideas are applied to particular places. Heritage is about linking people to land and designating both with a distinct identity. Heritage discourse can therefore be rich with historical and scientific descriptions of landscape and examples of the relationship between people and places. Most importantly, heritage is about making official the claims made about the relationship between identity and territory. It does so by linking these everyday claims to structures of governance. In the case of Tongariro National Park these structures extend out from the Park to include a range of transnational institutions entrusted with the responsibility of designating and managing something called its 'heritage'.

Unlike much that is published about conservation, this thesis is not prescriptive. It does not seek to provide a model of better conservation practice. Rather, it wishes to place into question some of the key terms and associations upon which that practice is built, such as the presumed 'universality' of the international Convention and the

presumed rightness of a goal like ‘sustainable development’. After 30 years of World Heritage operations, it is important to adopt a different perspective, one that examines aspects of practice that are taken for granted or just done rather than thought about. There is a need to see what work the World Heritage idea does on the ground – and that means both the intended and unintended consequences – before we might make claims about how well it works.

This shift is a subtle but powerful difference in perspective. Rather than earnestly assessing how well certain conservation and heritage designations pursue a pre-given objective (such as how ‘sustainable’ certain activities are), the research upon which this dissertation is based sought to take a more critical perspective in relation to conservation practices. In a field like heritage management – where the presentation of quantitative indicators of environmental management success or failure are the usual currency of assessment of the worth of designation and subsequent management structures – the perspective of this dissertation may feel too removed from the imperatives of rescuing and preserving cultural and natural sites. So much feels to be at stake with fragile and often rare cultural and natural heritage sites, that heritage managers are often tempted to write from a framework that is always optimistic, always advocating the actions that are imagined to produce the desired ends. But it is my view that writing in this way can render heritage advocates and managers blind to the multiple repercussions that result from an action. As we shall see, conservation outcomes are not necessarily realised according to aspirations or original intents, no matter how effective the rules or plans put in place to see them through. Discussions of the contingent, unpredictable and even contradictory relationships that constitute heritage practices are worthy of attention alongside more practical or applied ‘evaluations of management effectiveness’.

This re-framing of how conservation might be analysed is one of two conceptual shifts that I will ask those familiar with conventional heritage management literature to make. The second shift relates to the definition of culture. The World Heritage Convention, as the philosophical basis upon which bureaucratic action (such as the drafting of statements like the Budapest Declaration) is taken, responds to and has at its heart a subject framed through the term ‘culture’. In heritage discourse, including that relating to World Heritage, culture tends to be conceptualised as an object to be managed. The ‘cultural values’ of heritage sites refer to material culture, as products of human creativity, such as: rock art, castles,

buildings of architectural merit, designed landscapes. This concept becomes complicated when we start to consider spiritual significance of landscapes and so forth as having a cultural value, and hence when it is not just 'material culture' that is the object being governed. In order to better examine these complexities, in this dissertation I propose a shift in the way heritage discusses culture. Rather than focussing on culture as something that is defined, protected and worked on, I want to bring in another sense of the word 'culture', to consider also culture as active in the making of heritage significance.

Not only is material culture present in heritage landscapes, to be worked on and with, but active culture practices manipulate the very act of conserving. This dissertation is concerned therefore with the claims made around culture, through acts of government and bureaucratic structures. We might talk about the way we conserve as determined by our cultural context, and could speak about conservationists themselves as having a culture, or even as the World Heritage bureaucracy as a cultural site, with its own rituals, beliefs and taboos. As Raymond Williams has famously surmised: 'culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (Williams 1976, 76). This is more than just flexing the different definitions of the word though. It is rather an opportunity to study 'the social uses of culture within a disciplining frame', taking up one method of cultural analysis that Jane Jacobs and Catherine Nash suggest in their discussion of culture within geographical practice (Jacobs & Nash 2003, 270). Jacobs and Nash (2003, 270) cite Clive Barnett's (1998) and Tony Bennett's (2002) prescriptions to focus on culture in institutions and how it is translated into technical forms. By considering culture as active in determining the way we think of places as 'heritage' as well as active in producing material heritage, we can see how identity and landscape are co-produced and the role of governance in mediating that relationship. I discuss the implications of this for my study when I write about governmental relations, charismatic relations and heritage later in this chapter. To summarise for now: analyses of heritage need to be about the culture of government as well as the government of culture.

1.2.1 Relations in the World Heritage system

A central question in this consideration of World Heritage is to conceive of it as a relational system. In this section I provide a clearer sense of what I mean by 'relations'. Geographer Doreen Massey has written that places are constituted by a

‘constellation of relations meeting and weaving at a particular locus’ (Massey 1994, 147). This is a good way of describing the multiple interests that coincide (and collide) at a heritage site. We could conceive of a World Heritage site as an intertwined constellation of institutions, ideas and interests that, in association, provide a place with an identity. The World Heritage Convention, and the institutions and parameters of management it stands for, is a defining star amongst the ‘constellation of relations’ that constitutes a World Heritage site.

In fact, rather than a nested hierarchy of local/national/global relations (the tiered arrangement Massey has termed the ‘Russian Doll’ configuration (Massey 2002)), we could better imagine the interactions of World Heritage conservation interests as extending out in chains of linked individuals and institutions, in ‘networks’ of constellations. This is a much more messy configuration, but it captures the multiple roles that actors have in relation to a heritage site.

Diagrammatically, rather than:

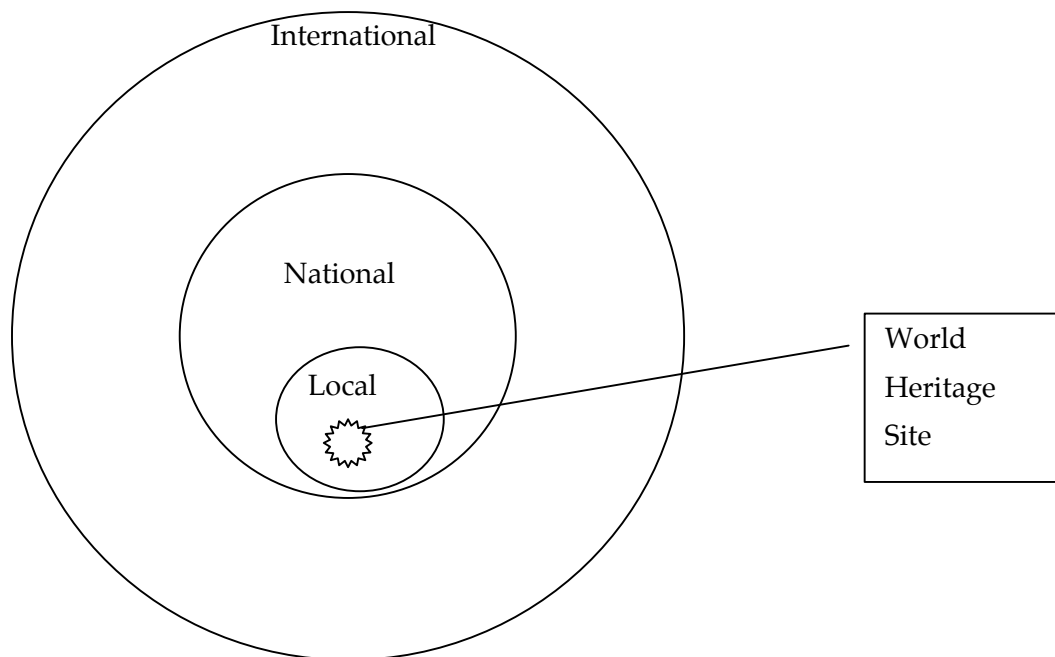


Figure 1 'Russian doll' nested international relations

We could instead conceive of it as:

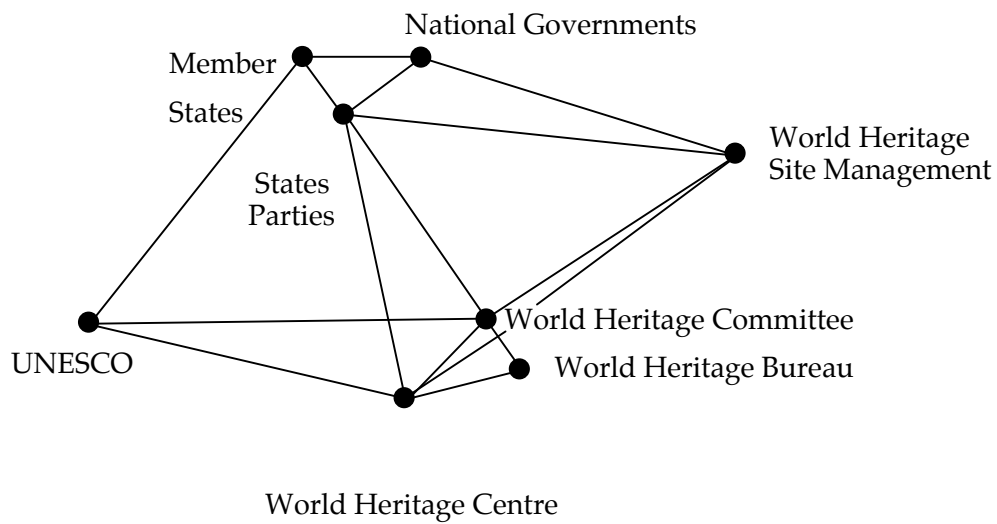


Figure 2 A transnational constellation of relations

Instead of the hierarchy (shown in Figure 1), power is exercised through a network of relations (in Figure 2). This structure is ‘transnational’ rather than just ‘international’ because the links extend not only between nations but also across other kinds of multi-national organisations, as well as domestically. Katharyne Mitchell suggests transnationality as a useful term for it by-passes inadequacies of analytical frameworks based on older core-periphery and centre-margin topologies. Instead it ‘opens up questions of scale through the emphasis on scale as produced (rather than given) and on the interrelationship between scales’ (Mitchell 2003, 78). Similarly, John Urry’s ‘Globally Integrated Networks’ offer new topological arrangements for transnational institutions (Urry 2003, 56).

We know that as individuals we ourselves have a national, international and local presence all at once, we know that the global is not ‘out there’ but right ‘in here’. Multi-scaled links become tangled together around a site, through political allegiances between individuals, organisations and policies at local and transnational scales. Just who is linked to who has implications for the spread of knowledge and technologies through the system. I write in more detail about the

implications of this for the practice of heritage government (and for my own methodology) in Section 2.4 on network relations, below.

Of course, places other than World Heritage sites could be described as amidst transnational networks too. These kinds of connections shape the identity of all places. Taking an Australian example: the identity of Botany Bay is often linked to overloaded British prison ships, Irish uprisings and even the American War of Independence, as well as there being a magnification where Botany Bay stands for the whole of Australia as a flash-point in contact with indigenous Australians and invasion of Aboriginal territory. The identity of a place always has such connections (and always has had – it is no trick of ‘globalisation’). Nonetheless, it would be inaccurate to say that formal recognition by a global system, such as the World Heritage Convention, does not alter these relations. For example, in order to nominate a site to the list, global value must be argued and maintained in a prescribed way (as I will discuss in depth in Chapter 3). Furthermore, an internationally acclaimed World Heritage site is different from other kinds of heritage sites because authority for managing heritage extends beyond national borders.

As my thesis unfolds I will show several different dimensions of the relations between the World Heritage Convention and the World Heritage site of Tongariro National Park. For example, in such a constellation we can identify how relations take place in an international or transnational context, and under a system of modern government. We can also consider how actors engage in technological exchanges, or charismatic relations. Thinking relationally provides ways of conceptualising how the interactions between individuals and institutions enact the aims of this international Convention. It will enable us to consider how local and global coincide, and how World Heritage sites can be described as unique and exhibiting essential values, but also sites within a network of exogenous relations.

1.3 Research Methods

1.3.1 Research Design

This research is about the relations between the 'global' World Heritage system and Tongariro World Heritage site, in which the system is manifest. As such it must necessarily move between (at least) two scales of practice. My methodology is therefore one in which local detail should also work to inform understandings of the broader logics of the transnational system. Drawing from ethnographic methods in this regard, I take up Anthropologist Clifford Geertz's challenge, when he writes:

There is no opposition between fine grained work, uncovering variousness, and general characterisation, defining affinities. The trick is to get them to illuminate one another ... [This is] to connect local landscapes, full of detail and incident, to the intricate topographies within which they are set. (Geertz 2000, 227-8)

Through my presentation of an inter-twined description of multiple localities in the World Heritage system as they relate to Tongariro National Park, I aim to demonstrate the sorts of connections to which Geertz refers.

In a dispersed system like World Heritage (with 178 states parties and over 800 places on the World Heritage List), sites of engagement are in many different geographical locations – in fact some interactions are in cyber-locations. Hence my method of study must necessarily also engage with the many sites of practice. My research relates both to a set of locations of World Heritage practice, and to movement between these locations. Hansen and Stepputat's discussion of transnational states suggests that:

By treating the state as a dispersed ensemble of institutional practices and techniques of governance we can also produce multiple ethnographic sites from where the state can be studied and comprehended in terms of its effects, as well as in terms of the processes that shape bureaucratic routines and the designs of policies (Hansen and Stepputat 2001, 14).

In effect I do just this. What will be revealed in the following chapters are the results of my field and archival work, examining discourses and practices relating to World Heritage at a series of sites around the world, but focussing most closely on Tongariro.

Tongariro National Park was chosen as the World Heritage site most suitable for in-depth study, given my research objectives. As this research focuses on the relations

between culture and government, I looked for a World Heritage site where there had been explicit discussion of the role of culture in management. Tongariro was an obvious choice because it was the first World Heritage site to be formally recognised as an 'associative cultural landscape', where the cultural associations of Maori tangata whenua ('people of the land') have been assessed as of 'outstanding universal value'. Tangata whenua at Tongariro have played an active role in landscape management within the terms of the World Heritage framework, and have directly engaged in the World Heritage system.

1.3.2 Data collection methods

As my central project has been to trace the relations between the World Heritage Convention and a World Heritage Site, I have beaten a path to anything and everything within World Heritage discourse relating to Tongariro National Park, my key site of interest. I followed the links in the network, through UNESCO offices, contributors in the World Heritage Committee room, as well as within the New Zealand state party administration of Tongariro. As a brief overview of these activities, I have conducted interviews, and undertaken field observations and document analysis. These methods relate to the different localities of practice.

1.3.2.1 Interviews and fieldwork

At the Tongariro World Heritage site itself, I conducted a series of seven semi-structured interviews with key participants directly involved in the conservation of the living cultural values of the World Heritage area. Interviews were held with the following people, who all agreed to being identified in this thesis:

Tumu Te Heuheu – Paramount Chief, Ngati Tuwharetoa

Paul Green – Conservator, Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy (DoC)

Jim Maniapoto – Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy

Greg Carlyon – Planner, Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy

Paddy Gordon – Manager, Community Relations, Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy

Harry Keys – Scientist, Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy

Dave Wakelin – Manager, Public Relations, Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy

My fieldwork at Tongariro also included elements of participant observation to elicit further ethnographic information of relevance to my research questions. I participated in a residential course about bi-cultural awareness (Maori and Pakeha) and sat in on Conservancy Board and stakeholder consultation meetings. I met with

members of the tangata whenua (the people of the land) for Tongariro, which includes members of two iwi (tribes or groups of families): Ngati Rangi and Ngati Tuwharetoa. At the Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy Office and Field Offices, I also analysed National Park management documents, and New Zealand government policy in relation to World Heritage.

I conducted further archival research at the New Zealand Department of Conservation (DoC) national headquarters (Wellington) and the Hamilton Regional Office. At these places I also held un-recorded discussions with New Zealand Department of Conservation staff involved in Tongariro and World Heritage. These were primarily with Gamini Wijesuriya (Scientific Officer, Hamilton Regional Office), Eru Manuera and Tata Lawton (Kaupapa Atawhai Managers, DoC Headquarters), and Brian Sheppard (External relations (International) manager, DoC Headquarters) - although other people were also introduced during the course of my visits to their offices. Discussions were unrecorded meetings rather than formal interviews. All participants agreed to the material discussed being used in my research. A further unrecorded discussion was held with former DoC employee, Les Molloy, who provided me with background on New Zealand's implementation of the convention in the 1980s and early 1990s.

A third key fieldwork setting for this research is the meeting room of the World Heritage Committee and Bureau. I attended two ordinary sessions of the World Heritage Committee (2001 in Helsinki, and 2002 in Budapest), a special 30th anniversary meeting of the World Heritage Committee (2002 in Venice) and one meeting of the World Heritage Bureau in Paris (2002). These UNESCO meetings provide insights into the international negotiations that govern World Heritage practices, and my ethnographic field notes are, for my research, an invaluable addition to UNESCO summary documents (which tend to focus on the decisions rather than the debates). In the course of attending these meetings I conducted several unrecorded discussions with state party representatives (various, including Indonesia, Finland, Canada, South Africa) and advisory body staff (IUCN – World Heritage Assistant, Georgina Peard) and ICOMOS (Assistant Coordinator, Gwenaëlle Bourdin).

I further investigated the practices of World Heritage bureaucracy by conducting several unrecorded interviews (with two members of World Heritage Centre staff – Mechthild Rössler, Chief of the Europe and North America Section, and Sarah

Titchen, Chief of the Policy and Statutory Implementation Section) and archival research at the World Heritage Centre, UNESCO Headquarters, Paris; at the Pacific Regional Office of UNESCO, in Apia (where I interviewed Programme Specialist for Culture, Mali Voi); and at the World Conservation Monitoring Centre, Cambridge (interview with Mr Stuart Chape, Manager, World Heritage, Ramsar and Protected Areas Section). I also sought to gain the perspective of advisory body participants, by conducting an interview (with ICOMOS World Heritage Coordinator, Henry Cleere) and library research at ICOMOS headquarters, Paris.

1.3.2.2 Document Analysis

In addition to this fieldwork, I have also conducted an in-depth study of the documents defining World Heritage conservation, particularly those relating to cultural values and cultural landscapes. These include annual meeting reports of the World Heritage Committee and Bureau, special topic studies, interpretations of the Convention and Operational Guidelines documents, and reports by expert advisory bodies (IUCN, ICOMOS, ICCROM). I have most closely analysed those documents within World Heritage discourse relating specifically to Tongariro, including nomination documents and state of conservation reports. The data gathered from these various sources, as well as the files I analysed in the National Park itself, have allowed me to piece together a historical and contemporary picture of Tongariro and the network of discourses and practices that surround its World Heritage status. The archival material has been important for putting together a chronological map of the relations, as well as for filling in gaps in my ethnographic fieldwork. In the operation of Tongariro as a World Heritage site, there are often exchanges where all the actors are never physically in the one place. Hence letters, reports and so forth constitute the inter-relations.

Analysing this document archive also helps to address concerns, such as those raised by Zsuzsa Gille and Seán Ó Riain (2002) in their article on global ethnography. Gille and Ó Riain criticise multi-sited ethnographic work, claiming it:

Does not allow us a sufficient amount of critical attention to political efforts to naturalise the local community because it provides no space from which to notice that such construction occurs. It takes places for granted and leaves no room for accounting for the production and transformation of sites. (Gille 2001 cited in Gille & Ó Riain 2002, 287-8)

I am conscious of the fact that by examining World Heritage in many sites, I am open to this kind of criticism that my analysis is too thin. I am however able to gain

richer historical detail (and depth) through my interviews and document analysis work, which pry back in time to consider the evolution of relations.

Gille and Ó Riain themselves recognise that ethnographic work within bounded institutions (that is, 'world polity institutions like the UN or the WTO' in their terms (Gille & Ó Riain 2002, 283), or the network of UNESCO World Heritage, in mine) is akin to ethnographic work within a complex social setting. My multi-sited analysis can help to answer their question of 'how can we undertake ethnography in a world where locality is contested and shifting?' (Gille & Ó Riain 2002, 271). I think the network is a way of positioning a locality, such that it refers to particular community or set of practices. While the localities of practice are fixed, the social moves about different spatial settings. My method is therefore not only multi-sited, but one that seeks to account for movement.

1.3.3 Data collection techniques

My basic approach was to follow up and record the consequences of World Heritage government at various sites in the network and this meant being open to and aware of information in many forms. Hansen and Stepputat suggest that analysis of government:

Requires that one study how the state tries to make itself real and tangible through symbols, texts, and iconography, but also that one move beyond the state's own prose, categories and perspective and study how the state appears in everyday and localized forms: in brief, to study the state, or discourses of the state, from 'the field' in the sense of the localized ethnographic sites. (Hansen & Stepputat 2001, 5)

When walking into localities of World Heritage practice, I have heeded the advice to see how government 'makes itself real' and looked for 'localised forms', where the World Heritage idea has been taken on (and worked with) by local actors.

When I visited my field sites (that is, the New Zealand government offices, the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Tongariro National Park, and others listed in subsection 1.3.2.1) I asked questions that helped me to discern why people are involved in World Heritage and how participation satisfies local political aims (see Appendix B). Through the work of other researchers (eg. Williams 2002, van de Aa 2002, Turtinen 2000) – described in greater detail in the next chapter – I knew that reactions to World Heritage listing amongst those living at or near to World Heritage sites have been varied. In some places residents had halted the nomination of a site, but in others they petitioned the World Heritage Centre for assistance. I

therefore wanted to trace through the decision-making process surrounding initial listing of Tongariro and the continuing involvement of the site in the World Heritage system. My interview schedules consisted of open-ended long-answer questions. Most interviewees consented to me taping the interview, so I could later work with these records of conversation as well as any secondary material that was introduced by the participants during discussion. With this information and that gleaned from sorting through files I was able to gain a sense of the weighing up, the accommodations and resistances between actors, when participating in World Heritage activities.

But I also wanted to find out about tangible effects. A large part of the rationale for going to these places, particularly to Tongariro, was to see how World Heritage status is visibly manifest. I found it useful to spend time ‘walking the talk’, as one of my interviewees put it (Maniapoto 2002, interview) to see where World Heritage government, as ‘site management’, was evident in the landscape. It was important, in amongst all these other forms of conservation practice, to gain a sense of how World Heritage was tangibly conserving heritage sites. By going on field visits and undertaking participant observation prior to getting out my tape-recorder I was better able to target my questions. I found that interviewees tended to talk about their participation in World Heritage discourse in terms of short episodes or events, often relating to a practical example at a heritage site. Having witnessed where they were talking about, I could better understand what they meant.¹

1.3.4 Data analysis

Fieldwork and interview data and documents have been interpreted on a number of levels, with regard for how they contribute to understandings of local practices and

¹ In so doing, my participants also came to know more about me. I should comment upon my own positionality for a moment as it greatly influenced how I interacted with the interviewees. I have a professional background in conservation practice, having been employed at a World Heritage site (Kakadu National Park) and in the (Australian) national government bureaucracy working on World Heritage policy. I had met some of my interviewees in this capacity prior to meeting them again as a researcher. All this meant that I was often treated as a peer (albeit a young and rather earnest one) who had a background in the subject matter. For my own part, I naturally cannot help but be influenced by my experiences. While I did (and do) not deliberately attempt to compare Australia and New Zealand or Kakadu and Tongariro, I did come to the research with pre-conceptions about the ‘logics’ of World Heritage. As might be expected, conservation practitioners at Kakadu and Tongariro have developed linkages to World Heritage in different ways. Nevertheless, the ability to consider practices across a range of sites has helped me to discern some broader technological relations of the system.

the broader system. Following transcription of interview material and fieldnotes, the language, the images, and the phrases used to refer to Tongariro and to the World Heritage system were collated and assembled according to chronological events and various themes. Categories related to different dimensions of the relationship between system and site, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. During the analysis process wherever possible the sources' original words/text were used in order to avoid mis-interpretation or translation of their sentiments.

A benefit of multi-sited research is the ability to 'walk the links' and follow objects around the network. Moving between my multiple field sites, I could observe a document being drafted in one context and being read in another. I could talk to both author and reader and get a sense of the translations that happen in between. Like science studies scholar, Andrew Pickering (1995, 221) I am inspired by Latour's advice to follow scientists around. Pickering writes:

We should track down the movement of scientists not through time but in cultural space, that we should trace out the interconnection of heterogenous cultural elements and strata that they weave, or that others weave around them; that we should explore the ways in which particular machines, disciplines, styles of reasoning, conceptual systems, bodies of knowledge, social actors of different scales, the inside and the outside of the laboratory, and so forth, have been aligned at particular times and in particular places (Pickering 1995, 221).

And just as Latour (1999) found following the 'circulating reference' (Latour 1999) to be of value, I see benefits in shifting between the sites of practice in order to see what becomes of things.

This method is not without its dangers. As a researcher, and a participant in the 'network' myself, I was at times called upon to translate between actors, explaining other's texts. My access to the sources of documents/discourses meant I participated in linking activities. I found it not possible, and not fair on my hosts, to remain a tight-lipped observer. This kind of interaction is inevitable and we cannot help but be a part of what we research. As you will see in the concluding chapter, I have continuing comments and translations to make. I do not think, however, that my 'chasing things around' is 'more informed by my interests prior to entering the field than by the field itself', as Gille and Ó Riain claim of transnational ethnographers (Gille & Ó Riain 2002, 286). I set a clear boundary for a particular sort of World Heritage discourse and have followed leads as they arose in relation

to this. Certainly the connections that interest me are informed by my research rationale, but I have also been open to opportunities arising through the research².

By moving between localities of practice, most importantly I have been able to examine the effects of World Heritage governance as they are experienced, and the relationships through which the World Heritage system is formed and maintained. My methodology draws from Allen's emphasis on where power is exercised, and his example of the bureaucratic institutions of the British Government. Allen surmises that:

In each of these authoritative geographies it is neither the fact of distance, nor dispersal, which problematises the reach of power, but, I would argue, the series of mediated relationships through which power is successively composed and recomposed. (Allen 2004, 27)

Such a claim further justifies my emphasis on relations and cultures of practice, and poses questions about the kinds of techniques used to promote conservation practice. 'Mediated relationships' is a broad term, and so my chapter titles reflect my effort to look for a more precise vocabulary for the ways in which the World Heritage system is linked together: through inscription, through instituting, through invoking. By finding descriptors for the links I want to promote a richer explanation of conservation government – how it works and what sorts of practices it entails.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This chapter has introduced the rationale and scope of the thesis to follow as well as dealing with a range of methodological and technical issues. In that overview, I have stressed the necessity to look at World Heritage as a networked system of practices, technologies and translations that put the World Heritage Convention to work in specific sites, and take specific sites into the work of World Heritage.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed introduction to the theoretical concepts that shape the approach taken in relation to the World Heritage system. A key task will also be to review a range of relevant literature relating to heritage governance and practice, particularly World Heritage practice. Chapter 2 will discuss further the dimensions of the 'constellation of relations' discussed above, to demonstrate how World Heritage fits together across different scales. I describe how this process is multi-

² For example, connections between Tongariro World Heritage site and the World Heritage Committee were significantly consolidated during the time of my research in a way that I could not have predicted, and I have been fortunate to chart this – see particularly Chapter Six for more explanation

scaled: from the transnational scope of the World Heritage system, to the relations between different actors and authorities, to more localised interactions within the network, to the micro-practices of managing landscapes.

In order to show these relations at work, in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, the main body of the thesis, I discuss three different stages in the history of interactions between Tongariro and the World Heritage system. These stages are in roughly chronological order and therefore follow a loose 'evolutionary' journey, although perhaps a better conceptual frame for the journey undertaken in this thesis is provided by Said's description of how ideas travel:

First, the point of origin, a set of circumstances in which the idea came to birth or entered discourse; second, the distance traversed, through various contexts in time and space; third, a set of 'conditions of acceptance' or resistances which make possible the idea's 'introduction or toleration', and finally 'the now fully (or partly) accommodated (or incorporated) idea is to some extent transformed by its new uses, its new positioning and new time and place' (Said 1984, 226-7)

In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, this 'journey' is loosely represented, although, as will be explained, the kind of actions and reactions in the network that links a specific World Heritage site like Tongariro to a wider a World Heritage system are not nearly so neat. The chapters to follow also incorporate Meaghan Morris's suggestion that policy work accounts for: 'failures and absurdities; how people live with [a policy's] operative and unforeseen consequences; multiple mediations and refractions of their own responses; how they formulate initiatives of their own; and how all this living exceeds the demands and the desires of the policy imaginary' (Morris 1998, 118). By showing the cultures of heritage governance and the practices through which policy is both made and implemented, I can better explain the effects of such a rambling system like World Heritage.

These three chapters therefore set about describing three stages through which actors are part of the World Heritage system. The thesis follows the sequence of procedures established for World Heritage sites: inscription on the World Heritage list is described and analysed in Chapter 3; the institution of management planning and organization is investigated in Chapter 4; and mechanisms for negotiating debates about conserving the values of the site and how people participate in the World Heritage system are discussed in Chapter 5. Each chapter is about a type of action that links localities of practice, connecting them into the wider network.

In Chapter 3, I introduce Tongariro in much more detail, following how it is described in World Heritage discourse. During this formal process of inscription as a World Heritage Site people at Tongariro gained greater familiarity with the World Heritage system. Likewise, in this thesis, describing the inscription is also an introduction to World Heritage processes, showing pathways or chains of relations between a site and the various transnational actors and authorities, like the World Heritage Centre and the World Heritage Committee.

Chapter 4 goes on to discuss the instituting of World Heritage at Tongariro – ‘how people live with its operative consequences’ as Morris, writes. I show how World Heritage sites function through a suite of governmental technologies, particularly bureaucratic practices for management planning. These are the mechanisms for making the World Heritage system real at the site and where I observe the working out of local, national and transnational authorities.

By Chapter 5, I have established how Tongariro is maintained amidst the relations of the World Heritage network. When the heritage values of the landscape become threatened, however, a new re-alignment of actors are called into play. By tracking the process of resolving this conservation dispute, it is possible to see the various authorities that are invoked under the power-relations of the World Heritage system.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I conclude with a review of the relations between the World Heritage system and Tongariro World Heritage site, and a discussion of interventions. This includes my own, as I reflect on my research findings and contemporary debates within the World Heritage community. I also take the opportunity to discuss how the system has evolved through the interventions of a range of actors, including those who live at World Heritage sites and who are often the most personally affected by or instrumental in World Heritage Listing.

By examining the relations of the World Heritage system I aim to show how World Heritage moves from concept on paper to have significant material consequences. In what follows I describe the World Heritage system with reference to the empirical example of Tongariro National Park, investigating how ideas move from Convention to ‘realisation’ in the landscape. This is indeed a test of the efficacy of the project, to see how the transnational has local relevance, and how the meanings of Tongariro World Heritage site are managed through World Heritage practices.

2 THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

Describing the Relations of the World Heritage System

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical bases for my research, drawing on literature relating to the concept of World Heritage. I begin by outlining the international context of World Heritage and sketching the transnational relations between the actors working on implementing the Convention. I go on to discuss governmental mechanisms by which the World Heritage system is put into practice and explicitly the technologies that implement conservation management in a World Heritage locality.

2.2 International & transnational relations

As might be assumed, the UNESCO *World Heritage* system is dependent upon international relations. World Heritage is the subject of a United Nations international convention. Nation-states which have signed the World Heritage Convention (known as ‘states parties’¹) commit to protecting places of natural and cultural heritage value within their territories and also contribute to collective effort to protect (in the words of the Convention) ‘the common heritage of humanity’. To this end, states parties may nominate to the World Heritage List sites within their territories they consider to have, as the Convention puts it, ‘outstanding universal values’ and agree to take particular measures in relation to these sites. Because all states parties agree to protecting the ‘common heritage of humankind’, as a consequence of a site being nominated to the World Heritage List it is hence defined as, in some sense, the common interest of all states parties to the World Heritage Convention.

¹ ‘States parties’ is the short form of ‘states party to the convention’, and is used in everyday UNESCO discourse. Following the French, the plural form is ‘states parties’, and singular is ‘state party’.

We might speculate about the implications this international interest has for the management of the localities and landscapes that become part of the World Heritage system. To start with, the designation and management of World Heritage sites is necessarily political because of the characteristics associated with such 'global' designations. Firstly, designation is enmeshed in the relations between nations that make up the World Heritage system, such that any designation is always also a series of debates about which nations and regions are being represented in the World Heritage map. Secondly, World Heritage designation must negotiate domestic attitudes towards trans-national involvement in, and adjudication on, a local place – and this may variously been seen as a good or a bad thing from the point of view of diverse local interests. Thirdly, the World Heritage institution itself is a site of bureaucratic political activity that expresses differing interpretations and aspirations of the 'global' remit. Finally, there is the politics that surrounds the making and sustaining of a 'global' or universal value system. International interest, for example, affects the politics of managing Tongariro World Heritage site, both domestically and internationally. State sovereignty over physical territory is maintained when a landscape is given World Heritage status, but its political and moral landscape is immediately enmeshed in a dynamic transnational network.

Conceptualising the World Heritage system as a transnational network means that I analyse conservation practices in terms of how they help to maintain the overall World Heritage idea, as well as how they conserve sites. Looking at the scope of practices undertaken in aid of World Heritage, I consider how much work goes into keeping the network intact and the concept of World Heritage credible. This means examining basic practices such as deciding which sorts of sites go on the WH List, as well as rhetorical practices such as those, like the Budapest Declaration (introduced in Chapter 1, above) by which the WH community asserts the significance of itself. I see this as demonstrated by the way the Budapest Declaration explicitly refers back to the 1972 Convention and refreshes the 'need for it to be applied'. Indeed, an 'anniversary' declaration, as this was, is itself a means of perpetuating the original idea. Repeating the same sorts of affirmations again and again helps to entrench the cause and keep alive the objectives of the conservation movement that underscores the World Heritage system. I also ask how the World Heritage system is maintained by the extent of its reach. The Convention has been well promoted and is the most

signed of any international legal instrument. With a current emphasis on recruiting the last few nations and ‘completing the global set’, it is likely that every UNESCO member country has charged at least one of its citizens with responsibility for protection of heritage thanks, in some part, to the efforts of World Heritage advocates. The prime impetus driving current recruitment is to establish the World Heritage as a truly ‘global’ agreement.

2.2.1 ‘By Global Agreement’

The World Heritage Committee have clearly stated their aim to secure the ‘universality’ of the World Heritage Convention. By signing up every country of the world it is claimed that actions taken under the Convention will have ‘universal’ support. By this logic, the collective agreement of all states parties translates into World Heritage as ‘the *common* inheritance of humankind’ and of universal value. There are many reasons why we could question whether the agreement of national governments can or can’t stand for the sentiments of all of its citizens, let alone the shared values of what Ulf Hannertz (1992) refers to as a ‘global ecumene’. Nevertheless, the agreement of every national government is asked to stand as a sign of ‘universal’ acceptance of the concept within the scope of UNESCO and United Nations power. Achieving agreement between all sovereign member-states is the closest to ‘universal’ possible in this institutional setting.

The drive for ‘universality’ is best understood within the institutional context. By tracing a little of the genealogy of the World Heritage concept, as anthropologist Sarah Titchen (1995) has done, the influence of other internationalist projects becomes evident. The Declaration of Universal Human Rights is an earlier product of the post-second world war United Nations and is used as explicit justification for the World Heritage Convention’s definition of the universal values of heritage. The Budapest Declaration echoes the intent of most UNESCO programs when it states that World Heritage seeks to draw together the diversity of heritage and the diversity of ‘all societies’ under one rubric.

Constructing World Heritage as a universal cause strikes a chord with other conservation action that advocates collective global effort. There are a growing number of international conventions and treaties that direct government at local levels to act in the interests of a global or universal idea. Sustainable development discourse draws upon the idea of co-ordinated global action, as do the allied

projects rallying against deforestation, desertification and climate change, and supporting biodiversity. Political ecologists, Adjer, Benjaminsen, Brown and Svartad, have together studied these four parallel discourses and find commonalities in the sorts of language and concepts used (Adjér *et al* 2001) wherein environmental threats are conceptualised on a global scale such that the response must be managed globally (see also Adams 2003). This is exactly the basic justification within the World Heritage Convention (Appendix A). The introduction to the Convention states:

Considering that, in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening [heritage sites], it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value. (UNESCO 1972)

Framing conservation as global moral duty naturally inspires the sort of recruitment I described above. We should, however, reflect on the implications of advocating heritage conservation at a global scale. Neil Adjér and his colleagues argue that:

Since global discourses are often based on shared myths and blueprints of the world, the political prescriptions flowing from them are often inappropriate for local realities. (Adjér *et al*, 2001, 683).

By tracing the paths between global rhetoric and local implementation these authors show that discourses of global environmental management are often simplified and bear little correlation to the local complexities of resource use or even, in some cases, to the causes of the environmental problems. This is a significant claim that inspires similar questions about the translation of World Heritage from global heritage management principles to conservation practice at heritage sites.

Adjér *et al* also argue that global environmental management discourses are ‘top-down, interventionist and technocentrist’ (Adjér *et al* 2001, 701). To this assertion could be added the evaluations of World Heritage discourse as ‘modern’ (Pettman 2003), ‘Western’ (Cossons 2005) and ‘Eurocentric’ (Titchen 1995). This emergent critical language surrounding World Heritage governance suggests that we need to consider more closely the way power is exercised through this transnational system. I will discuss each of these critical terms in the following section, as I examine governmental relations within the World Heritage system.

The very features of the transnational World Heritage system that I have just described – those supposed to foster universal appreciation of what heritage value is, and a ‘global’ concern and international cooperation to conserve ‘common

heritage’ – are enacted through a system of governmental relations. By describing how World Heritage is implemented through government it is possible to discern how the network that sustains this system works, and in particular how this network extends across national borders and recruits, refreshes and maintains itself as a successful transnational system.

2.3 Governmental relations

The key difference between ‘heritage’ designation and management and most other ways of looking after cultural property is the extent to which heritage practice is embedded in and directed by government. The World Heritage system is no exception and necessarily draws upon governmental authority (law), supported by an extensive, multi-scaled bureaucracy. In this section, I want to flesh out the idea of heritage as a governmental project. I will begin by looking at how the relationship between the World Heritage Convention and the Tongariro site is determined by governmental practices. This leads into a discussion of common cultures of government and claims (such as those of Adjer *et al* above) of how governmental institutions act. I then write about the structure of these bureaucratic World Heritage practices and implications for my methodology.

The legal arrangement of the World Heritage system could be described as both democratic and top-down, in that decisions about how the World Heritage Convention is implemented are taken (on a consensus basis) by the World Heritage Committee, (an elected group of 21 states parties to the Convention), but the authority accorded to the Committee is that of a decision-making executive. The Committee meets annually, and makes decisions on the advice of the World Heritage Bureau (a sub-set of 7 states parties on the Committee), and the advice of technical ‘advisory bodies’ (who are conservation NGOs with an established role in World Heritage: the World Conservation Union (IUCN), International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation & Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)). (See Glossary)

The process of nominating a site to the World Heritage List and working to conserve the ‘outstanding universal values’ is scrutinised by the Committee, who make the ultimate choice about what goes on the List and what receives funds. Regular updates of information about sites is presented to the Committee by state party representatives, in reports coordinated by the World Heritage Centre. The

World Heritage Centre is staffed by UNESCO bureaucrats and provides the secretariat to the Committee. One interpretation of this structure might be that the World Heritage Centre is the administrative 'centre' in a centre-periphery relationship, as was proposed by ethnologist Jan Turtinen (2000, 5) at a recent conference²

This dissertation would like to argue that the World Heritage system is more aptly thought of as a network of authorities, rather than a core-periphery or a series of 'Russian dolls' in which individual sites are embedded in nation states and those states then answerable to international scrutiny. As my thesis will demonstrate, although the formal legal arrangement of World Heritage designation is top down, it is wrong to assume that this is the straightforward manner in which power is exercised in and around Tongariro World Heritage site.

This dissertation rather seeks to investigate the multifarious interactions that constitute the World Heritage system in order to see how ideas and resources are transferred through the networked system. It also attempts to install a more nuanced understanding of how authority and authorisation works in the World Heritage system. To do so will better recognise the actual multi-scaled complexity of how World Heritage decisions and designations are put into practice. In charting these working relationships by which the World Heritage system exercises authority, I draw upon Michel Foucault's discussion of governmental power. Foucault describes governmentality as:

An ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, and the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has its target population and as its principal form of knowledge, political economy, and as its essential technical means, apparatuses of security (Foucault 1991,102-3).

From this we can take that government is by no means a straightforward assumption of power, it is an intricate and dynamic set of relations. Foucault's theory encourages us to work through the ensemble, breaking-up the act of government into strategic and technical practices, as he later puts it: 'the whole complex of knowledges (savoirs)' and 'the whole series of governmental apparatuses' (Foucault 1991,103). The next section elaborates the notion of government adopted in this study.

² Forum UNESCO Universities recently held a conference, World Heritage: Centre and Periphery at the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina October 2004.

2.3.1 Government and the World Heritage system

Following Foucault, my definition of government is broad, taking in all the institutions involved in promoting heritage conservation and the ways in which they direct practice. It is my intention to use 'government' both as a noun, referring to institutions and actors within the WH system, as well as a verb describing the ways in which power and practices are directed. This 'government' is most often dictated by state party governments acting in accordance with instruments like the World Heritage Convention. But, to be precise, government is not always performed by these national governments. In describing the development of governmentality, Foucault emphasises that government incorporates more than just direct government by the 'state':

One cannot confine oneself to analysing the State apparatus alone if one wants to grasp the mechanisms of power in their detail and complexity. There is a sort of schematism that needs to be avoided here that consists in locating power in the State apparatus, making this the major, privileged, capital and most unique instrument of power of one class over another. In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as a vehicle for transmitting a wider power. (Foucault 1980, 72)

By tracing the 'finer channels', the network provides a means to identify the many actors who play a role in the power relations of Tongariro and the World Heritage system, right down to individuals, and including those non-state(party) actors who might do the work of the state (party).

Foucault's model of government does not simply enlarge the picture of who is involved in a governing system, it also exposes the complex exercise of power. It is important to ask, as this study seeks to, how these institutions/players influence each other and what are the processes of governance that implement the Convention. Linking the actors is only part of this analytic process because one cannot straightforwardly equate an interaction with the exercise of power: not every transaction matters in the same way as another, nor are relations between actors constant or symmetrical.

Just as power is not organised in a hierarchy from centre to periphery, power is not exercised evenly, everywhere. Rather, by taking a more detailed (and dynamic) approach, we could recognize not only the arrangement of institutions engaged in the act of governing, but how these institutions derive authority through the World Heritage system to direct one another. The structure of the system and the logics

upon which it is based lend some actors and some actions more authority than others. For example claims that the system is 'technocentric' or 'Eurocentric' stem from a perceived bias in the way knowledge is given power in the World Heritage system. This is highly relevant to the governance arrangements at Tongariro, where conservation politics are consciously entwined with claims to territory by non-state actors, the Maori traditional 'people of the land' or 'tangata whenua'.

There are considerable differences between existing assessments of World Heritage government. For example, Darrin Lee Long describes how the interaction of international, national and local intervention around heritage together work to create a creolised heritage (Lee Long, 1999). Whereas in Jan Turtinen's assessment ((Turtinen 2000, 5) as mentioned above) it is the World Heritage Centre that is seen as dominant in dictating local practices. Alternatively, Doug Pocock considers that because nations act courteously and will not offend each other in the World Heritage forum, national assertions are quite empowered (Pocock 1997, 260-1). This is consistent with Joost Fontein's view that the established power relations of World Heritage reify state party control in World Heritage processes and procedures (Fontein 1999). As Fontein puts it: 'the World Heritage system is a 'anti-politics machine', which reinforces the role and power of state party bureaucracy under the guise of a seemingly de-politicised claim to universal value and preservation for humanity' (Fontein 1999, 89). By way of example, Fontein draws upon a site in Zimbabwe where the national government has been able to justify contentious actions by recourse to the World Heritage status of a particular area. In cases like this we can see how the use of international 'expert opinion' within World Heritage provides an authoritative basis for the justification of action by the nation state.

In order to better describe the relations of World Heritage, and to answer questions about who dominates decision-making at Tongariro, we need to know how aspects of World Heritage confer authority. Bruce Braun suggests that a geological approach will reveal the historical bases that underlie modern (nature) conservation discourse and hence tell us more about authority. He writes that we should:

Show how the specific knowledges that informed state rationality emerged from a much wider web of social and political practices (including those of the state), which over time set in place the epistemological conditions necessary for the state to act strategically on nature. (Braun 2000, 41)

According to Braun, it is useful to look further (and 'deeper') back in time to uncover the particular rationalities that today inspire governmental action to protect

nature. I agree that through a historic perspective we will gain better insight into the logics and authorities of the World Heritage system and to a limited degree this dissertation draws upon such history of the World Heritage system. However, this study does not intend to provide a comprehensive genealogical (or geological) analysis of the World Heritage system. Its main emphasis is on the ways in which the system operates in a contemporary context of Tongariro National Park. That said, it is useful to provide some depth to this analysis by addressing some foundational aspects of the World Heritage system.

2.3.2 The making of authority in World Heritage government

The authority of scientific knowledge is central to World Heritage. As Fontein (1999) asserts, there is an underlying tenet that universal value is determined in a non-political way and hence objective science and historical scholarship are called upon to determine the 'universality' of particular heritage. The 'advisory bodies' of technical experts contribute advice about conservation, but remain separate from final decision-making. In this way Committee decisions about appropriate conservation practice are informed by 'best practice' norms and objective advice.

As this dissertation will demonstrate, this technocentric approach influences the practical work of conservation. Scientific assessments form the basis of decisions to list sites and technical reporting is also required when the Committee investigates the 'state of conservation' of a World Heritage site. Like the other conservation discourses that Adjer *et al* (2001) refer to, the World Heritage Committee often seek market-oriented technical solutions and encourage resource transfers between nation states. Furthermore, site conservation techniques are communicated through World Heritage Centre publications and training sessions held for World Heritage site management staff. The technologies of World Heritage regulate and sanitise places, such that distinct sites in the heritage system are managed in similar ways. This insistence upon scientifically informed standards is a means by which heritage is made governable.

It is also possible that heritage places are 'normalised' by the governmental regime. Nikolas Rose (1989) asserts (drawing on Foucault), that government involves normalising practices, like those associated with measuring and listing a population, or requiring that performance targets are met. These techniques

normalise because they bring the subject into account such that it is able to be compared and administered. The World Heritage project similarly seeks to account for the most 'outstanding' valuable places on the globe and advocate for their protection by quantifiable means. We might wonder how this alters the special-ness of places, once a World Heritage site becomes one of a system of 788 such others. Later, in my examination of the listing process (Chapter 3), I will look at the 'Global Strategy' that assesses the world for likely sites and struggles with a way to catalogue and integrate the diversity and complexity of it all.

Counting up and monitoring sites is an authoritative means by which places are drawn into the World Heritage system. Darrin Lee Long (1999, 3) claims that through World Heritage Listing, Ngadjon (a particular Australian aboriginal) heritage and identity has become institutionalised. Unfortunately Lee Long does not provide much detail about the consequences of this for Ngadjon people. To my mind, becoming part of the 'institution' suggests that these people may potentially be subject to a range of institutional practices by which they and their resources are governed. I engage further with the institutional aspects of World Heritage in Chapter 4. I consider how World Heritage is practically instituted, to see what consequences it has for people at Tongariro. That is, how World Heritage boils down (and steams up!) on the ground in a World Heritage site.

The authority that the World Heritage Committee gains through overseeing the management and monitoring of heritage sites and the associated practice of compiling a global strategy, promotes the idea that decisions can be made on the basis of as full a knowledge as possible. This global vision or 'God Trick' (Haraway 1991) is a sign of the modern rationality underlying the World Heritage system. Indeed, Pettman has suggested the World Heritage system is an example of modernity, on the one hand, because of the use of 'objective examination' and its universal scope, but also because World Heritage imposes a nature/culture dichotomy and 'reifies the past' (Pettman 2003, 3). Under this modern rationality, we see how the authority of knowing provides a right or responsibility to intervene. As I will describe, this makes for powerful associations between scientific assessment and political intervention.

Acting to protect World Heritage sites (being the common heritage of humankind) against threats is a primary justification for participation in the World Heritage system. By acting to save heritage 'in-danger', as it is termed, and responding to a

global concern, those working for World Heritage help those people and places that are considered by the WH Committee to be in need.³ This relation of benevolence gives a strong sense of purpose to the World Heritage community. The measure of resources expended on site protection, as well as the record of places 'saved', becomes a demonstration of the success of the system. Although the description of threat does have echoes of paternal colonial missions to save 'backward' places (a salvage paradigm), the World Heritage system is successful in recruiting participants because it plays to both localised, national pride as well as the local desires for outside assistance in 'saving' a site from local neglect or other outside exploitation.

Most of the time such assistance is welcome, however on occasion the World Heritage Committee advocates the protection of sites where it considers the state party is not providing sufficient protection. World Heritage Committee debates, such as that relating to the Kathmandu Valley in 2000, can see state parties arguing to keep their sites *off* the List of World Heritage in Danger. It is for reasons such as these that conservation discourse is dubbed 'interventionist' by Adjor and his co-authors (2001). It also might explain why the World Heritage system has been called 'Eurocentric', 'neo-colonial' and 'coloured by an underlying and pervasive Western conservation ethic' (Titchen 1995, 4). Titchen has more recently discussed some of the consequences of the Western conservation ethic, describing where World Heritage listing has radically altered the local use of heritage sites (Titchen 2002). The examination of the governing relations of the World Heritage system undertaken in this dissertation provides further investigation of the veracity of such claims. In order to understand these governing relations, I examine the conduct between national cultural and natural resource management authorities, the Committee, and state party governments; the way these enmeshed forms of governance are structured; as well as the epistemological bases for defining World Heritage significance, including any biases or omissions in the knowledge systems on which intervention is based.⁴

³ When nations sign the Convention they are required to contribute to the World Heritage Fund for this purpose. The amount contributed depends on the economic status of the state party.

⁴ There is a parallel perhaps with Edward Said's comment on the relationship between geography and empire, where he writes: 'The most important thing was to dignify simple conquest with an idea, to turn the appetite for more geographical space into a theory about the special relationship between geography on one hand and the civilised or uncivilised peoples on the other' (Said, 1978: 216). World Heritage is not about actually owning new territory (in fact the system upholds the sovereignty of nation states) but about influencing what happens at certain places, and using a rational system of knowledge to do this.

It is important to grasp the full scope of what an accusation of Eurocentrism might incorporate when applied to the World Heritage system. It does not simply reflect the fact that Europe has more sites on the World Heritage List than any other region, nor the fact that UNESCO is an organization centred in Europe. It also reflects the fact that the structures of governance upon which World Heritage management rely have evolved through a Western genealogy, based on European traditions of governance. As such, Eurocentric knowledge frames have influenced the way in which 'outstanding universal value' is defined. The definition of '*universal value*' is founded on Western scholarship and ought to be subject to Linda Tuhiwai Smith's observation that:

The globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge. This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as 'universal' knowledge. (Smith 1999, 63)

It is ironic, though perhaps unsurprising to post-colonial critics, that the very discourse of inclusion and recognition of cultural diversity enshrined in the Convention is, because of the very context in which it was formulated, inherently problematic. As noted earlier, part of the difficulty lies in the fact that the World Heritage system is limited by its own emphasis on a specific interpretation of culture as *heritage* object.

If, as Bill Adams asserts, 'today's ideologies of nature and the governance of nature draw directly upon the inheritance of colonialism' (Adams 2003, 17), it is likely that the modern transnational governance of World Heritage would have traces of a colonial legacy (see also, Willems-Braun 1997, Rajan 1996; Groves 1996; Carruthers 1997; Griffiths & Robin 1997). Through this thesis we look in greater detail at the inter-relations of World Heritage to see how Eurocentric and other influences are negotiated. Perhaps we can find in critical accounts of colonial encounters, perspectives that resonate with the logics of the present? And what specific relevance would these have to World Heritage sites in contexts that have specific colonial histories, such as Tongariro, a World Heritage site located in a settler society? To what extent do previous (colonial) interactions at the site have a bearing on current efforts to manage cultural and environmental resources in an area of recognition?

Attributing labels like 'modern', 'interventionist' or 'colonial' to the World Heritage project are only useful if they provide a means for better understanding the relationship between sites and the web of governmental and other interactions within which they are enmeshed. We need to be cautious that we do not impose labels upon situations that could be explained otherwise. Geographer Dan Clayton emphasises that we need to keep watch for diversity of experience when writing about geographies of a global scale. He suggests we consider:

..the increasing connectedness of 'West and rest' through common processes of interaction and representation, power and change, *and* the geographically and historically diverse emergence of colonial relations and performance of cultural practices. (Clayton 2000, 240[my emphasis])

By honing in on these micro-politics of World Heritage governance in the settler society context of Tongariro, New Zealand, I seek to observe both the broader processes as well as their specific effects on practice. I consider the best way to capture the entanglement of local detail *with* World Heritage as a transnational system or 'institution', is to examine the governmental relations of the World Heritage system as a multi-scaled networked 'ensemble' of actors and actions.

2.4 Network relations

By describing the relations between the World Heritage Convention and the World Heritage site, we are really describing a whole set of interactions that work to implement the Convention. In my sketch of the network (Figure 2, page 9) I do not show the Convention. This is because, even though this document influences action, it is nothing unless it is put into action by institutions and individuals. It is with these practical actors that I am most interested in this research. In this section I will focus in on the practices of government within the World Heritage system, to show how practical acts of management (conservation management and bureaucratic management) make the network work.

2.4.1 Networks and the exercise of power

The network is a means of configuring how local interactions fit into a larger system. As I said earlier, we can chart how World Heritage government involves both governmental and non-governmental actors and, by joining dots to dots and drawing in the inter-relations between institutions, between Tongariro and others in

the World Heritage system. Bruno Latour describes the network as a mechanism for 'the summing up of interactions' (Latour 1999, 18), and it is in this sense that I use the term. The network is how, in a spatial sense, we trace the relations of the World Heritage system.

My thinking on networks is influenced by the literature stemming from Actor Network Theory (or ANT as it is popularly known). ANT is a method for analysing social and technical interactions promoted by Science Studies scholars Michel Callon, John Law and Bruno Latour. Latour explains that 'ANT aims at accounting for the very essence of societies and natures' (Latour 1997), by calling upon the researcher to trace the (three-dimensional) mass of tangled connections between organizations, individuals or objects (defined as actors or 'actants'). It is a method of describing collectivity, connection, and the way actors/actants engage.

There has been much written within Geography and other social sciences about ANT, particularly its application to society-environment interactions. Critics have argued with several aspects of the ANT model, including: the broad definition of agency (extending agency to non-human actors); ANT's inability to incorporate subjectivity; and the workability of a schema that becomes increasingly complex as more and more is factored in (see, for example, Murdoch 1997; Castree and MacMillan 2001; Castree 2002; Nightingale 2002). Bruno Latour himself has reflected that ANT 'is an extremely bad tool for differentiating associations. It gives a black and white picture not a coloured and contrasted one' (Latour 1997, 9). This is what I mean too when I argue that a network needs to be more than just drawing the connections. In my thesis, I will therefore work to develop the idea of the network in a slightly different way in order to 'colour in' the connections between actors.

John Law, in his discussion about the topological character of networks, describes how, in order for this arrangement to stay as a network, actors have to remain engaged (Law 2003). Law illustrates how a network can be both fluid (i.e. dynamic) as well as rigid: 'fluid' because the actors and the nature of interactions between them are continually changing; but also 'rigid' because, in order for, say, the World Heritage system to stay a system carrying out the work of the World Heritage Convention, certain core practices and relations must remain stable. Law uses the metaphor of a ship that must keep all of its rigging, rudders and anchors to remain a working vessel (or a working 'object' in ANT terms). But, as Law explains, a ship

can continually re-orient itself in space, navigating to all sorts of new positions and thus is mobile or fluid.

Law's idea of the ship holding together as a stable but mobile event, helps to elaborate how the relations between actors do work to stabilise the network they are a part of. As Latour puts it:

ANT may have hit on one of the very phenomena of the social order: maybe the social possesses the bizarre property of not being made of agency and structure at all, but rather of being a circulating entity (Latour 1999,17)

Latour goes on to suggest that 'circulation collects the collective' (Latour 1999, 23). Quite how networks 'collect' or form bonds between actors is an important question, and one which will enable a more colourful description of the World Heritage system in a networked association with Tongariro. Not least, it provides clues for how we might think about how power works in a system like that of the World Heritage system.

Not all interactions or connections in a network are the same. Relations of governance are influenced by particular authorities within the system – or, put another way, some aspects of a system may have more authority than other aspects. In the World Heritage context, we can observe a system which, to varying degrees, has the power to direct cultural and natural resource management practices on the ground. Through the various activities expected under the World Heritage Convention, the system has the ability to 'insert itself into the world by 'realising' itself as practice' (Rose 1996, 41), and a crucial part of that practice is how relations are made and sustained between the global and the local.

2.4.2 Links in the network

The real fascination of the network lies in the links. This requires recognition that power does not rest with institutions or people, but that rather that it is something given through practice: power is *exercised* in the links, not *held* in the nodes. John Allen notes:

It is hard to shrug off the idea that people 'hold' power, that size matters when it comes to resources such as money and muscle, and that there really are mindless acts of authority carried out by faceless corporations on the other side of the globe. Once power is thought about as something which can be bestowed upon or vested in someone, or inscribed in them on the basis of certain structural relationships, the possession of power itself identifies its location. It reveals its whereabouts (Allen 2004, 20).

The whereabouts of power is in the practical acts of government, such as the drafting of a World Heritage nomination or the speech of a representative at a planning meeting, all the small and significant acts that create the relations between different places and people involved in World Heritage⁵.

Latour (1999) describes how a researcher identifies or ‘does the collecting’ of the network by tracing relationships. In the following chapters, I record the network created by World Heritage actors. The links are relationships between entities, they grow and thicken (or fray and break) through the course of transactions (or lack thereof). My emphasis on the practice of government is concerned with how well these practices work to stabilise the World Heritage system and all it stands for and its objectives. To clarify what this means in a more tangible sense, in what follows I trace how links are created by actions, such as sending management plans, submitting a nomination, giving financial aid or calling upon technical advice. These exchanges of letters, expert reports, and funds do the linking between different nodes in the system. A World Heritage system is made up of a practical network of relations.

The World Heritage network exists across a range of scales: individuals, larger institutions, as well as the translations in between. The phrase ‘managing landscape values’, say, means one thing to those making macro decisions and another to those who will be called upon to interact with the landscape - indeed, as we shall examine, in Chapters 4 and 5, ‘managing the landscape’ is often about managing people and their interactions with the landscape, also about managing meaning and even about managing unmanageable nature. The movement between scales happens by way of the network links, translating between the different levels at which the system works. For example, practices are often bundled together so they can be explained to a different set of actors (like all the actions that take place to assess a site for the World Heritage List, when a nomination report is presented to the World Heritage Committee). Allen explains that the topological arrangement of power is ‘a relational effect of social interaction where there are no pre-defined

⁵ This is not to say that the institutions themselves are not interesting, but that their nature is revealed by the way they interact: According to Raymond Williams: ‘it is a very fine point in description of any system of structure, whether emphasis is put on the *relations* between people and between people and things, or on the *relationships* which include the relations and the people and things related.... The actual construction with special reference to its mode of construction [rather than] isolating the mode of construction in such a way as to exclude both ends of the process’ (Williams 1976, 257). By this distinction, I really mean ‘relationships’ when I discuss ‘relations’.

distances or simple proximities to speak of' (Allen 2004,19). This is an advantage in tracing the relations of heritage, as we move between the micro-politics of international discussions, to broader institutional interactions, to the on-ground politics of site conservation, and practices of moving rocks and measuring water temperatures.

Methodologically, this can only work with the horizontal re-configuration of the hierarchy of local, national, global, and the designation of all sites of practice as localities within the network. This is an act of cutting World Heritage down to size, influenced by anthropologist Clifford Geertz's argument that 'all politics, however consequential, is local' (Geertz 2000); as well as Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat's (2001) recommendation to 'disaggregate the state into a multitude of discrete operations, procedures and representations in which it appears in the everyday life of the ordinary people' (Hansen and Stepputat 2001, 14). Practices like the debates between states parties in the World Heritage Committee room, for example, are considered local practices (even though they are between transnational actors). Such a perspective assists in the critical analytical task of revealing the World Heritage system as a network of dispersed practices, as opposed to a framework for universalist claims of heritage value.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will concentrate more on the practical aspects of heritage government, including the translation between conservation ideals and practices. I will also consider how practices contribute to, and constitute, the World Heritage system. For the network is held together by practical engagements between actors. I go on to discuss practices that fulfil conservation aims, are network-building, and/or represent particular struggles between actors in this transnational system of government.

2.5 Technological relations

In order to move from a World Heritage Convention text to the practical conservation of a site (and vice versa), a network of institutions and individuals are engaged in implementing activities. In this section I examine methods by which implementation of the Convention might be described. Technological relations are the ways in which 'government is realised as practice' (Rose 1996, 41) and I here describe conceptual tools for explaining this translation.

Mitchell Dean writes that governmentality ‘has a technical or technological dimension and... characteristic techniques, instrumentalities and mechanisms through which such practices operate, by which they attempt to realise their goals, and through which they have a range of effects’ (Dean 1999, 21). I take up the term ‘technological’ with respect to describing governmental practices in the World Heritage network because I think it has two useful elements: ‘techné’ is the tool, skill or knowledge to perform a task; and ‘technology’ is the study of those. I propose playing with the word a little, so rather than ‘logy’ being ‘the study of’, we incorporate instead the idea of ‘logos’ as a ‘logic’, or ‘*technologic*’, thereby emphasising the reasoning behind a technique or action. Hence we could talk of the technologic of a conservation practice being, on the one hand, what the practice achieves as an intervention in the environment (say, putting up a sign to inform people that they are at a sacred site) and, on the other, as also serving an ethical function promoting the aims of the World Heritage project (in this case, to enhance awareness of the spiritual nature of landscape). The ‘technologic’ makes the link between practice and the ‘attempt to realise [governmental] goals’, that Dean identifies above. It encourages us to speak about the mechanics of government, and to say how practices fulfil particular modes of thinking within World Heritage discourse. In this section, I describe World Heritage practices, and how these link back to the idea of the Convention and other broad policy initiatives within heritage discourse.

2.5.1 Technologies and practices

A preliminary point in relation to conservation practice is that these practices are not simply those that engage physically with heritage sites or objects. We are in fact accounting for a whole swathe of actions, many of which may appear more bureaucratic or academic than the work of those who readily identify as a ‘conservation practitioner’. Practical conservation work does not have to involve getting muddy, dusty or covered in turpentine. Much of the linking work of World Heritage is carried out by those who muck around with words on paper more than anything else. I admit I am particularly interested in the work of these bureaucrats and technocrats and their words, because this is an obvious point where we can find evidence of the technologies of government, as policies are explicitly used to justify practice.

In the logic of international conventions, for example, a legal instrument gains force through nations signing up to participate. A minimum number of signatories are required to have ratified a convention for it to officially come into effect. The more signatories, the more it can be assumed there is support for the ideas within the convention and, in the case of World Heritage, the claims to universality are further justified. Hence, by signing the World Heritage Convention and nominating a site to the World Heritage list, states help to realise a 'world' community for World Heritage. States parties also demonstrate agreement to a global duty to protect heritage places⁶ and make a series of obligations that bond national governments (and subsequently those at World Heritage sites) into a set of relations with other members of the transnational World Heritage community.

In what follows I seek to engage analytically with the processes of heritage conservation at Tongariro and interpret the goings-on in the World Heritage Committee room. I have already discussed, using the Budapest Declaration as an example, how the World Heritage system employs the techniques of repetition and righteousness in order to maintain a cohesive transnational network. But I also wish to describe changes in the system. For example, over the past few years there has been a movement to increase the involvement of local communities and traditional owners within conservation government, which is likely to have resonance at Tongariro. So when accounting for governmental practices, I am keen to identify how and where these ideas are able to find support.

In order to trace technologies of governance, it is important to have a way of describing actual conservation practices and how they contribute to the World Heritage network. Like Neil Adger *et al* (2001, 683) assert, 'the connections [in global conservation discourse] at multiple levels come through the actions and practices of government agents, individuals and civil society and the allegiances formed between them'. Because these practices are what holds the system together – what makes the links between nodes – I take a more detailed look, examining the chains in the links.

⁶ We could speculate as to whether this sense of duty will increase if all UNESCO member states sign the World Heritage Convention.

2.5.2 'Chains in the links' and mangled micro-practices

Andrew Pickering uses the term 'representational chains' to describe sequences of practices. 'Chains', he writes, 'are ascending and descending through layers of conceptual multiplicity and terminating in captures and framings of material agency, with the substance and alignments of all the elements in these chains formed in mangling' (Pickering 1995, 101). This is a complex description of an idea that is deceptively simple, so let's pick it apart, by beginning at the end! Pickering's concept is that the process of doing something is like working washing through a mangle: practice begins, it is rolled through as time passes, there is a bit of squashing and squelching in the process, and things (a dense tangle of clothes, slightly dyed water, perhaps the forgotten contents of a pocket...) emerge. We could expect that as the mangle turns a longer and longer 'chain' of events will have transpired. The 'practice' is laboratory science in Pickering's example, but he is willing to extend the metaphor to the doing of anything. It is a powerful and attractive image, this 'analytic apparatus... for understanding the coupled becomings of the social and the extrasocial' (Pickering 1995, 312), not least because it is a way of describing a dynamic set of relations. It reveals interactivity through time.

Yet we can also stop the mangle for a moment to look at a 'layer' of the chain (to go back to my initial Pickering quote) and check the 'substance and alignments' occurring at that instant. Pickering suggests that the squashing, squelching tussle within the rollers is a 'dialectic between accommodation and resistance', or interactions between material and human agents. It is as though a bit of squeezing, or a short run of practice, is followed by a lull in which there is assessment of the capacity of the practice to move towards some kind of goal (in Pickering's example, this is the capacity of the experiment to meet the 'aim' of the scientific experiment), subsequent practices may be altered, and new material effects are emergent. As the conditions change a new episode of accommodation and resistance evolves. In this way the mangle model accounts for practices that are changing and responsive.

An example of a 'chain' of World Heritage practice is the drafting of an official text amongst Committee members: One phrase is proposed, somebody objects, an extra verb is inserted, someone points out this is grammatically incorrect, an alternative is suggested, the original complainant sticks to her guns, another verb is suggested that encompasses both meanings, it proves to be un-translatable into French and the

Molvanian delegate is indignant, the sentence is turned around so all that is needed is a noun, somebody suggests one, the Chair seeks general agreement, we are all happy. In the process of working through the practice of drafting text, there are alternating acts of accommodation, and others of resistance. These interactions are a fraction of World Heritage Committee business, nevertheless this form of action constitutes the conservation practice of the Committee. Through these sorts of micro-practices states parties are linked into the Committee's decisions and institutional relations are developed. I will apply the Pickering's mangle concept to highlight particular sets of practices during my discussion in Chapters 4 and 5.

One of the benefits of studying an emerging subject at this scale is that you hear the mangle squeak as it turns. As I have discussed in my methodology, during ethnographic fieldwork I have observed the interactions of conservation practitioners from different angles, heard them justify actions, and asked questions about their rationale. This means focussing on the micro-effects of governance as they are experienced. Too often in analyses of heritage governance we examine policy as it ideally might be but do not follow through to observe the context in which it is received. Or conversely, our grass-roots analyses of governed subjects has a skewed version of what 'they' impose. Really government 'at a distance', as it has been termed by Foucauldian theorists, needs to be looked at from both ends so that we can understand how techniques for gaining and maintaining authority over distances and between jurisdictions work.

In amongst all of this there is a fundamental question about the consequences of bureaucratic intervention in sacred places or heritage sites. If heritage governance is as complex and tactical as I have begun to describe, what effects does this have on the meanings and significance felt for heritage places? As I discuss in detail in the next two chapters, processes of governance seek to formalise heritage values into institutional and governmental frameworks. The intention is that heritage management is for the 'protection' of sites but, as described, conservation practices can also be about maintaining a conservation project in itself. There may well be other, external drivers that affect how World Heritage is manifest at heritage sites.

Through heritage conservation policy overt bureaucratic interventions are made, in the name of governance, in the values and significance attributed to heritage sites. I am not convinced that meaning can be managed in this way. I therefore seek to

hone in on those practices that translate between a policy choice about what to conserve and an abstract idea of the essence of a place, to see just what effects bureaucratic interventions can (or cannot) have. In World Heritage practice (as I shall describe in the next chapter) we see first a verbal definition of outstanding universal value; next, scientific evaluation and official approval of that value; and then bureaucratic administration of the *site* of value. At each stage and scale of this process there are processes of translation underway such that the questions of how and by whom a site is represented become very important. The remainder of my thesis does just that, investigating the relational processes that stitch together World Heritage with the Tongariro World Heritage site.

Strategic representations of the Tongariro cultural landscape

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways that World Heritage sites are defined within the World Heritage ‘global’ imagination. I examine how World Heritage discourse tries to work in two directions at once, by promoting a strategic global view and, at the same time, placing emphasis on the unique and extraordinary features of World Heritage sites. The process for ‘inscribing’ sites on the World Heritage List is interesting in this regard as we can observe how relations between the transnational and the particular are built, including translations between different localities of heritage practice as well as demonstrations of how local and ‘global’ aspirations infuse each other.

The World Heritage technical term for listing or registering a site is ‘to inscribe’. One sense of the word ‘inscribe’ is to register something on a list (in this case a heritage site on the World Heritage List). Another definition is ‘to write an inscription, such as a memorial or plaque, defining value’ (as an officer at a World Heritage site might do to mark the achievement of World Heritage status). There is a complex set of practices that define how a place becomes inscribed on the World Heritage List, and likewise how World Heritage is manifest at localised heritage sites. In this chapter I trace that process of inscription relating to the nomination of Tongariro as a World Heritage site. The chapter is in three parts. Firstly, I discuss the criteria by which sites are assessed for ‘outstanding universal value’ (World Heritage status) and the logics that influence the assessment process. Second, by focusing on the act of nominating Tongariro to the List, I show how a site is represented through World Heritage practices. I further examine how the special features of Tongariro, and specifically the cultural significance of the

landscape, are evaluated within World Heritage discourse. Finally, I observe how the relationship between site and international authority is negotiated, demonstrating the ways in which World Heritage listing is a process of engagement between those from Tongariro, and national and outside interests. Let us commence by rolling out the World Heritage map.

3. 2 On the World Heritage Map

Every year the World Heritage Centre produces a map. The size of a large wall poster, the map charts the geographical distribution of World Heritage sites. Europe, The Americas, Africa and the Arab States, and the Asia/Pacific Region are projected in four large circles. Lands and oceans are shaded according to topographical relief. In keeping with the 'globalising logic' of a shared World Heritage, national political boundaries are not shown. The land area of each flattened sphere varies depending on the ability to fit all the sites into an equivalent sized circle. In this representation, Europe gets bigger as it has the greatest number of sites to be depicted – a result of what some call a 'imbalance in the representivity of the List' (UNESCO 1998). In the Asia/Pacific circle, the cartographers have managed to configure Henderson Island into the Southern arc of the frame. Adjacent islands that are not World Heritage sites, are not visible at all. This map (a version of which is shown at Figure 3) is a presentation of the World Heritage global vision.

The World Heritage map represents the extent of World Heritage classification and protection, and as such provides us with insight into the global imaginary of the World Heritage system. In determining what is drawn into and what is left off the map, the cartographers at the World Heritage Centre have exercised what Stuart Hall terms a 'power *in representation*: power to mark, assign and classify' (Hall 2001, 338 [emphasis in original]). Plotting the globe in this way reinforces the imagined geographies of the institution, by virtue of the cartographers including some places and disregarding others. A map may be read, geographer J.B. Harley suggests, for its 'representative force as a symbol' as much as its 'overt representations' (Harley 1988, 303). While the World Heritage map charts the extent of the World Heritage world, as an artefact it is also a mechanism for promoting a way of conceptualising World Heritage sites.



Figure 3 The World Heritage Map (UNESCO 2004)

It is worth asking what kind of messages the World Heritage Centre hope to promote in putting together the 2002 World Heritage Map. In 2002, the Centre's designers chose a background of yellowed historic maps. These eighteenth-century explorer's charts sit in interesting juxtaposition to the modern cartographic style that overlays them and represents the World Heritage sites. Superficially, the old maps convey an interest in antiquity, referring perhaps to the historical nature of the project. They also represent the process of discovery, particularly as the explorers' charts contain unshaded regions of *terra incognita*. The urge to explore might well be a characteristic that the Centre wishes to encourage amongst those visiting World Heritage sites. Thinking comparatively then, the collection of dots on the modern World Heritage maps is analogous with the inscription of names on the early maps, and could likewise connote processes of colonial claiming. So this version of the World Heritage map associates colonial interactions with their effects in contemporary international relations (interestingly, the nomination dossier for Tongariro National Park also associates colonial encounter with conservation designation World Heritage listing: see my discussion in section 3.5.1). This may well be a case of what geographer Daniel Clayton observes in his analysis of maps of exploration, where maps: 'take on meanings that exceed and redefine their *raison d'être* and give them a more contorted genealogy' (Clayton 2000, 375).

Both the historical maps and World Heritage maps have strategic uses. The explorers' charts plot the known world; and the World Heritage map is a tool (published by the World Heritage Centre) that provides an overview of World Heritage activity across the globe. Representing the scope of World Heritage on a world map invokes a culture of strategic logic and comparative thinking. It depicts World Heritage sites as contributing to the potency of a larger whole. My contention is that the World Heritage Centre uses this kind of world map to reinforce World Heritage as global, and its assertion of preserving *universal* values: the greater the extent of member states and the more sites on the List, the more claims to represent universal values are substantiated.

3.2.1 World Heritage value: 'outstanding and universal'

The 'World's' heritage is realised through the use of the classificatory threshold 'outstanding universal value' to define World Heritage sites. Anthropologist, Sarah

Titchen (1995) has traced the etymology of this phrase. She associates 'outstanding' with the intention to emphasise the uniqueness of sites; and the construction of 'universality' with both the holistic environmental philosophies of global conservation movements, and the internationalist project of the League of Nations and the protection of 'cultural monuments'. The combination of these two aspects of a site, that it is simultaneously special in a unique way and valuable in a general sense, parallels the 'unity in diversity' ethos that underlies the overall UNESCO mission, of which World Heritage activities are a part.

Within its 'global' vision, the World Heritage community aims to protect a diversity of places. Historian Jan Turtinen (2000, 3) writes that World Heritage 'provides a 'global grammar' with which the dispersed local phenomena can be 'made sense of, co-ordinated into, and managed as a global heritage'. In World Heritage discourse, the 'global grammar' (or technologic) linking the unique to the global is based on the idea that the more rare and valuable the site, the more important it is that 'all of humanity' act to protect it. The perceived rarity of a site makes it worth saving. It is important to stress the commitment to rarity necessarily produces a system that ultimately works towards managing diversity. The world is of course a diverse place, and the World Heritage world is one in which diversity, the fault-lines between cultures, is emphasized by the act of measuring and appraisal that is central to the World Heritage system itself. Sari Wastrell (2002, 186) points out: 'there is no such thing as diversity that does not emanate from a project of measurement'. The processes of classification that I examine here demonstrate how just such a project of measurement works within the World Heritage regime. Places are articulated by having particular qualities that make them unique. A review of the criteria for delineating sites will illustrate this means of 'producing' diversity within World Heritage.

3.3 Classifying World Heritage

The processes of classification that are employed in the identification and representation of World Heritage are both explicit and implicit. The less apparent 'dividing practices' (Rose 1999, xi) operate as a consequence of the types of knowledge on which World Heritage draws, and the politics that infuse acts of representation. Here I concentrate upon the formal processes of classification used to determine World

Heritage significance: the categories of heritage and the criteria defining them. The main categories of World Heritage are subtly depicted on the (abovementioned) World Heritage map (see Figure 3). Coloured symbols represent whether each location has been designated as a natural, cultural or mixed site: red for culture, blue for nature and a green diamond for mixed sites (with both natural and cultural values). Cultural landscapes (a particular type of cultural site) get a red diamond.

Skipping over the diamonds for a moment, the most fundamental form of classification is that World Heritage sites are defined under the categories of ‘cultural’ and ‘natural’. This reflects the different objectives of the two main factions involved in the development of the World Heritage Convention: on the one hand UNESCO and the built heritage conservation lobby with its concern for the cultural; and on the other environmental organisations, such as IUCN (the World Conservation Union) and the United National Environment Program, acting to stall the disappearance of nature. Their collective interest in protecting places of outstanding universal value provided an impetus for the drafting of the Convention. The Convention therefore carries two separate definitions of heritage, as follows:

Article 1

For the purposes of the Convention, the following shall be considered as ‘cultural heritage’:

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an architectural nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.

Article 2

For the purposes of the Convention, the following shall be considered as 'natural heritage':

natural features consisting of formations or groups of such formation, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view;

geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals or plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;

natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

Table 1. Articles 1 & 2, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972)

These two articles have been adapted into sets of natural and cultural criteria, defined in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention (Operational Guidelines). In order to be inscribed on the World Heritage List, a site has to exemplify at least one of these ten criteria, at the threshold of 'outstanding universal value'. The World Heritage criteria stipulate why sites are held to be significant, according to either natural values or cultural values (or both). The current (1999) version of the Operational Guidelines defines the criteria as:

Cultural criteria

24. A monument, group of buildings or site - as defined above - which is nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List will be considered to be of outstanding universal value for the purposes of the Convention when the Committee finds that it meets one or more of the following criteria and the test of authenticity. Each property nominated should therefore:

- (a) (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; or
- (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; or
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared; or
- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; or
- (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural);

and

- (b) - meet the test of authenticity ...
- have adequate legal and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms

Natural criteria

44. A natural heritage property - as defined above - which is submitted for inclusion in the World Heritage List will be considered to be of outstanding universal value for the purposes of the Convention when the Committee finds that it meets one or more of the following criteria and fulfils the conditions of integrity set out below. Sites nominated should therefore:

(a) (i) be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features; or
(ii) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals; or
(iii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance; or
(iv) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation;

and

also fulfil the following conditions of integrity...

Table 2. Operational Guidelines 24 & 44, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention (UNESCO 1999)

These texts, with their precise wording, represent years of drafting and negotiation where conservationists and diplomats have hewn their different agendas to form two complementary sets of values.¹ These criteria are regularly referred to in defining what it is about World Heritage sites that needs protection. As such, they are instruments for continually reinforcing the values of the World Heritage system at various different locations or sites of the World Heritage system. Through this continuing application, the criteria (and the underlying values they represent) are still very much the subject of debate, as I will discuss further in this chapter.

Looking more closely at the criteria then, we can gain insights into the concerns and intentions of those who have realised the World Heritage Convention. The text of the articles and the criteria suggest some of the epistemological and process logics of World Heritage discourse. The nature/culture distinction is an obvious example of the particular way in which the World Heritage Convention defines its world. The criteria also imply certain ways of assessing values, through various disciplinary contexts, such

¹ Although there have even been recent suggestions to merge the two sets of criteria into a set of 10, in a new version of the Operational Guidelines (WHC 2001, Committee discussion).

as those mentioned in Article 1 – ‘the point of view of history, art or science’ or the ‘the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view’. The caveats relating to integrity, authenticity and management planning provide further insight into the governmental praxis of World Heritage Listing. I write more about authenticity and integrity in Chapter 4, in relation to the specific management of Tongariro National Park. In the following section, I focus on the nature/culture divide and the engagement of ‘science’ as authorities in the inscription process.

3.3.1 Differences between natural and cultural

The different concerns of those who drafted the Convention have persevered in the institution of a dualistic listing process. This segregation into effectively two separate lists continues to compartmentalise World Heritage practices. The tension between the ‘natural’ and ‘cultural’ factions of World Heritage is borne out in many contemporary debates within the World Heritage community. It is replicated in structures of expertise, and politics of distinct interests, as well as in the different categories of sites. While the principle of protection is a binding force, when participants begin to argue about specific actions in relation to real-world cases, the compatibility of the epistemological bases of the two conservation projects can be troubled. The two key advisory bodies, IUCN (World Conservation Union) and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), each contribute expertise in different ways, drawing criticism about the lack of a consistent threshold for World Heritage value.

The divide between ‘natural’ and ‘cultural’ is institutionalised in the very structure of the organization and division of labour. Within the World Heritage Centre, work teams are split between natural heritage conservation and cultural heritage conservation expertise. At Committee and Bureau meetings, affiliation with either natural or cultural heritage is evident in interpersonal networks. There is a tradition of an informal social gathering of ‘naturals’ at each Committee meeting. The ‘naturals’ meeting ensures solidarity and is often held in the face of the perceived dominance of cultural heritage types in the business of the meeting. Whether ‘cultural types’ actually do dominate is difficult to gauge. It is true nonetheless that the significant majority of sites on the World Heritage List are ‘cultural sites’ (611 sites out of 788 are cultural), and most of these are located in Europe (339 of the 611 are cultural sites in Europe). Key figures

amongst the 'naturals' (both in IUCN and other organisations) have tended to come from outside Europe. Additionally, the 'naturals' tend to normally circulate in for discussions on other environmental conventions and systems (like for Man and Biosphere meetings), so may not be used to having the 'culturals' as part of their professional discussion. They may also be conscious that significant funding in recent times has come from nature conservation organizations, suggesting that 'naturals' have a vested interest in maintaining a distinct identity from the 'culturals'.

The rift between culturals and naturals in the World Heritage system can have a bearing upon what gets plotted on the World Heritage map. Particularly in the earlier years of the Convention, institutional divisions around concepts such as so-called 'intangible heritage' were the subject of much debate during decisions about whether to put some sites on the World Heritage List. The criteria definitions (see above) include several nature/culture hybrids, but unless the site can meet at least one of each the 'cultural' and 'natural' criteria (as a 'mixed site'), it must be designated as either 'cultural' or 'natural'. In the second half of this chapter I discuss more about the tensions that arise when heritage is not readily categorised in this way. Tongariro National Park, which is listed as a mixed site with both natural and cultural value, provides a useful example for examining how the nature/culture tension is worked with at different localities of World Heritage practice.

3.3.2 'In accordance with modern scientific methods'

The process of working with the World Heritage criteria to assess potential World Heritage sites is carried out in three stages. In the first stage the state party prepares the nomination dossier. Second, the advisory bodies engage in a formal evaluation of the nomination, which generally includes a 'mission' (visit) to the site. And third, the Bureau and Committee are shown a presentation on the site by the advisory bodies and discuss the dossier and evaluation prior to making their final decision. Following the Convention, all these stages are conducted 'in accordance with modern scientific methods' (UNESCO General Conference 1972, Preface to the World Heritage Convention). 'Science' guides practice by: establishing the rules for rigorous assessment; by providing technical solutions; informing decision-making in an 'objective' ways; and consequently creating the impression of a separation of politics

from information-gathering. The World Heritage system draws upon scientific knowledge to assess places and cultures, referring to 'consultative experts' who have standing through their academic credentials and institutional associations. The advisory body recommendations may be (and have been) over-ridden by the Committee, but they are respected as expert advice that is independent of the international politics of the states parties to the Convention. As the existence of 'cultural' and 'natural' camps suggests, the advisory bodies are not devoid of political interest. During Committee meetings and site visits, however, their examination of the values of a site is presented as non-partisan and independent. As I will discuss in more detail in relation to the inscription of Tongariro, the Advisory body representative presents a report, about the merits of the nomination, in scientific terms.

A key principle in World Heritage practice around designation of sites is objectivity. The presumed rigour of the 'scientific method' provides a means to assess sites that is purportedly outside of any particular national, institutional or even personal interests. In the Committee room, representatives of the relevant state party are restricted in what they may say about a site lest they appear to be advocating for inscription. The use of 'objective evidence' also works to empower the Committee. During Committee and Bureau sessions, members make decisions about the values and management of places based upon the assumption that they are able to draw upon universal principles to understand particular situations. Employing scientific experts as neutral and 'objective observers' is one means by which the Committee and Bureau support this practice. So the recourse to science is an important step in creating the authority to demarcate and manage universal heritage values. In this sense, World Heritage practices work to promote the perception of objective, universal values.

Another means of emphasising universality is the way World Heritage discourse is kept at a generic level by 'dis-locating' sites. In one Bureau meeting I observed, a Bureau member read aloud text referring to a particular management issue at Tongariro National Park. He carefully enunciated each word except for the place-names, which he skipped over, thus rendering the case study without location. Whilst this is likely to have been a subconscious act to avoid names that may have been difficult for the individual to pronounce, it nevertheless points to a lack of attention to the specificities of place. Even the most distinct place, once in the World Heritage system, can be presented as a generic management matter. This type of dislocation is

quite central to the functioning of the World Heritage system. World Heritage Committee members negotiate between the specificity of sites and the claims to universality of interest in them. Engaging the scientific method validates the impartial judicial function of the Committee, and dis-locations like the one I have just cited support movement from a site, through the scales of the network, so that the Committee can make decisions in accordance with generic principles.

This process works to change the site from a unique object to one case of many, accountable and comparable by those with a 'global' overview. The site can be talked about in a different context at a 'centre of calculation', like the World Heritage Committee room. In fact a large project of calculation, part of a 'Global Strategy', has recently been embarked upon, as the World Heritage Committee have requested that all World Heritage sites are compared and classified in order to review the overall content of the List. This requires categorising the types of cultural and natural heritage sites typologically and regionally. The 'Global Strategy' (see below), is a good example of how the World Heritage bureaucracy employs governmental techniques of surveying and calculation in order to manage rationally.

3.3.3 Global Strategy and Review

Since the early 1990s a series of reports has been produced under the banner of the 'Global Strategy for a Representative and Balanced List'. This is an ambitious project that seeks to study the relative number and distribution of properties on the World Heritage List. Working groups operate on a regional and global basis examining heritage according to thematic categories. These reports are compiled at the World Heritage Centre, with the intention that they cumulatively provide a picture of where and how different types of heritage are conserved. The two main issues of concern are, firstly, a disproportionate representation of sites per state party and per region, and secondly, an 'imbalance' between the number of cultural and natural sites on the List.

The question of 'representivity' (as it is termed by the Committee) illustrates how the principle of equality between nations intersects with the project of selecting the most outstanding sites. It is not feasible for each state party to have equal participation in World Heritage, because of the varying size of national territories and different qualities of their landscapes. As ICOMOS representative, Henry Cleere, remarked in

relation to the number of sites per state party: 'how can China be accorded the same quota as Liechtenstein!' (Cleere 2002, interview). Looking at the map it is evident however that a small number of countries have dominated the listings, while a significant number do not have one site on the World Heritage List. The reason for such uneven distribution is surely both a matter of uneven access to World Heritage processes, as well as uneven distribution of sites.

The Committee has sought to overcome problems of uneven resources through funding and training programs. It has also instituted a priority system for the handling of nominations, giving preference to those states that are 'under-represented'. This is a practical as well as strategic measure, as the growing number of states parties ratifying the Convention has led to a rapid increase in the number of sites considered at each Committee meeting, to the extent that the meeting timetable is now overloaded. The Director of the World Heritage Centre recently declared that the World Heritage project was 'too successful'². There is also a view that the more properties added to the List, the currency of those already listed will fall. Cleere suggests that the List will 'settle down at about 1200' (Cleere 2002, interview). Yet it is difficult to predict at what point the exponential recognition of 'outstanding universal values' will level off, and thus to know the final detail of the World Heritage map (if indeed this assumed final map is settled on).

In a separate but allied process, the advisory bodies have been given the large and, perhaps, ultimately doomed project of attempting to review all the sites on the List, in order to determine where the List is lacking. The task is difficult as the selection of sites for listing has never been a systematic process. There has always been a mixture of motives in inscribing sites on the list. Some are rapidly World Heritage listed because they are seen to be under threat or danger of being lost (the Pyramids of Giza were one of the earliest sites inscribed for this reason), and because they are unique and/or represent the best in the world – of *outstanding* universal value. This has led to different thresholds for World Heritage status, and a confusion about just what aspects of a site make it the best representative example. In general, it is difficult to find straightforward mechanisms for comparing and classifying heritage. For many sites, it is the layering of

² The World Heritage Centre Director, Francesco Bandarin made this remark during his annual report to the World Heritage Committee, at the 26th World Heritage committee meeting, in 2002.

multiple heritages that lends the place significance.

Attempts at the 2002 Committee meeting to categorise properties served to demonstrate well the complexities of this huge task of calculation. The Committee debated the system of classification devised by ICOMOS, wanting chronological, regional and typological level sub-categories and questioning the efficacy of multiple categorisations of single sites. The political implications of establishing an agenda of what should and should not be listed (and, as such, what might potentially be de-listed) are considerable. Reaching a decision about how many gothic cathedrals or stone-age tombs are sufficient to represent the world's heritage would be close to impossible. It is not just a question of numbers per category, but rather that sites are not so readily compared, each having features that make it unique. Even if the decision were to be purely based on a quantitative listing of number of species, artefacts or sacred stories, we are never able to presume that our categories are correct or that the 'science' itself will not change. For this reason the World Heritage project lacks an ideal vision. There is no 'end point' map that can be pinned up to indicate the ultimate success of the project. The strategic authority of the 'global' ought therefore be considered more for the effects of its status than the ability to predict and plan an ideal collection of the World's Heritage. World Heritage is determined by the ability of sites to represent the system, just as much as the World Heritage map or a global overview represents heritage.

So far in this chapter, I have examined various ways in which the 'world' in *World Heritage* intersects with a concern for the specific, unique values of World Heritage sites. This begins to inform us about the internal dynamics of the World Heritage network and how governmental processes direct relationships between different nodes, or localities of practice. Using the World Heritage map as an example, the analysis has highlighted how global and local spaces of World Heritage are created and perpetuated through a range of practices.

Inscription on the World Heritage List is one of the fundamental processes in the technologic of the World Heritage system. Sites have to be categorised and assessed in ways consistent with the principles of the World Heritage system, as described in the World Heritage Convention and the Operational Guidelines. The local is therefore defined in (World Heritage) 'global' terms and this includes making a distinction

between natural and cultural values and employing scientific method. As I discussed in the introduction, scientific knowledge works as a 'civilising' knowledge requiring sites to be represented in particular ways. The requirements that sites also meet 'integrity' and 'authenticity' criteria are manifestations of the civilising drive. Likewise the use of scientific methods is intended to bring objectivity to assessments.

There are several dimensions to the authority of an objective 'global' view. On one hand, the global is what activates universal concern and what provides UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee with their mandate to make recommendations about sites. The scientific assessors are also members of a global community, working within a knowledge system that allows them to move between the specificities of sites and make comparisons. In this process we ought to look for what happens in the translation between localities and scales. We should also be alert to the moments of imprecision, where 'global' conventions are not followed, thanks to the peculiarities of a site or circumstances. Sarah Titchen, for example, has observed that: 'many of the Committee's decisions to reject nominated properties where they fail to meet the threshold of 'outstanding universal value' have the appearance of being made without reference to the text of the criteria' (Titchen 1995, 160). It is worth exploring these events, for they can reveal how the network is shaped.

3.4 Inscribing Tongariro

3.4.1 *World Heritage Committee decision I – Natural values*

Tongariro National Park was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1990, on the basis of outstanding universal values, under natural criteria (ii) and (iii). The decision to inscribe the site was cause for initial celebration, but also some later regret, because Tongariro had been nominated for natural *and* cultural criteria as a 'mixed' site. In this section I describe the process of trying to have the cultural values of Tongariro recognised by the World Heritage Committee. Discussions about whether to 'List' Tongariro reveal how global, national and local aspirations are inter-related through the inscription process. Again, we see how the particularities of sites are negotiated within the 'global' framework.

According to Tumu Te Heuheu, the paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa (tangata whenua at Tongariro National Park) and on the Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy Board, a joint cultural and natural listing of Tongariro was considered from the outset. Te Heuheu credits former New Zealand government employee and renowned conservationist, Bing Lucas, with activating the project:

Bing in a personal way already had knowledge of the people that surrounded Tongariro, in his earlier work, in Lands and Survey...developing land for Park use. And he came to know the elders of Tuwharetoa in his work. And so when he joined IUCN [World Conservation Union] it was always with a view, I believe, that the mountains of Tongariro, the National Park, was a special place not so much for Tuwharetoa, but for NZ. And I think it was in that context that World Heritage was mooted. (T.Te Heuheu 2002, interview)

Bing Lucas was an active participant in IUCN's advisory role to the World Heritage Committee and was therefore an ideal advisor to the Department of Lands and Survey, the Parks and Museums Board and the Chief Ranger for Tongariro National Park on the World Heritage nomination process³.

Lucas was also a good advocate for the site amongst the World Heritage network. When his IUCN colleague, Jim Thorsell, visited New Zealand to assess the Mount Cook and Fjordland nomination to the World Heritage List in January 1986, he was encouraged to visit Tongariro too. Thorsell was very positive, suggesting a listing on the basis of Maori associations, ideally submitted in the same year as the centenary of the Park (i.e. the following year, 1987). A nomination document was put together by the New Zealand Department of Lands and Survey (1996) making the case for cultural and natural heritage significance. By December 1996 it was ready, but there were not the resources to go ahead. The idea remained in circulation nevertheless and led to further proposals, such as one in 1989 from a Mr John Moore of the Wanganui iwi, suggesting a North Island serial nomination linking Taranaki, Rotorua and Tongariro on the basis of cultural values. With this kind of public interest and technical support, the nomination was finally submitted to the World Heritage Centre and Thorsell returned to assess the site formally in 1990⁴.

³ Bing Lucas sadly passed away in December 2000. Because of his long-term involvement in both World Heritage politics and this site, he would have been a key interviewee for this study.

⁴ Harry Keys remembers that the weather was not very favourable when Thorsell visited in 1990: 'we went over the Tongariro crossing when the weather wasn't great, which, you know, the views of Tongariro crossing - the volcanic features...[are obscured]even so he saw enough of it to know from the pictures. (Keys 2002, interview)

In December 1990, the World Heritage Committee meeting was held in Banff, Canada. The agenda session devoted to examining nominations to the List of World Heritage considered nineteen possible sites. Two of these were nominated by New Zealand: Te Wahipounamu (South West New Zealand) and Tongariro National Park. The South West site had already been listed (following that visit by Thorsell in 1996) and the re-nomination in Banff was effectively a renaming and amalgamation of the pre-existing World Heritage areas Westland/Mount Cook National Park and Fjordland National Park. It was readily accepted by the Committee. Tongariro National Park was the second site from New Zealand considered at that session. Following the Committee procedure, a representative from IUCN (acting now as an objective assessor, rather than conservation advocate) presented the evaluation report. IUCN recommended that inscription be considered on the basis of natural values (ii) and (iii). After a short Committee discussion, Tongariro was held to be of 'outstanding universal value'. The State Party, although not represented in the room by a delegation, was congratulated on having successfully presented the site for nomination. Back home in New Zealand, press releases were issued publicising the new World Heritage status. The official Committee record states: 'The Committee congratulated the New Zealand authorities for having improved the management and protection of this site, particularly by limiting tourism developments and taking greater account of the cultural values of Tongariro' (UNESCO 1990, World Heritage Committee meeting report).

The Committee reference to cultural values turns out to be a consolatory remark. The New Zealand government had thought Tongariro was being assessed against both sets of criteria. In fact, as the State Party found out by fax the next July (1991) the nomination was only listed for natural values. A hand-written note in the margin of the Department of Conservation file copy says: 'this looks embarrassing to me'. When the New Zealand government set about finding out post-hoc what had happened, they were advised by the Director of the World Heritage Centre that 'the importance of this site for Maori culture was discussed at the World Heritage Bureau meeting [held the week immediately before the Committee]' (Director, World Heritage Centre 2001, fax to DoC). The Director (Bernd Von Droste) explains that:

ICOMOS did not wish to evaluate the global significance of this site as a unique heritage of Asia/Pacific cultures since studies necessary for making regional comparisons among various sites which illustrate cultural heritage values of the

Asia/Pacific had not yet been undertaken. (Director, World Heritage Centre 2001, fax to DoC)

The dossier had not been evaluated by ICOMOS, because the cultural values of the site posed a methodological problem within the established criteria and processes of evaluation.

The story of interactions between Tongariro and World Heritage so far shows both the strength of the World Heritage system in remaining firmly loyal to clear categories of heritage, and its weakness or lack of flexibility in the ways it assesses heritage values. This is particularly borne out through the nomination of Tongariro as site with mixed natural and cultural values, as I discuss in the next section. We should also note the lack of clear communication between the New Zealand government and the World Heritage Centre, and how this led to significant misunderstanding. In the two years following the initial inscription, the New Zealanders tried to clarify why the cultural nomination had stalled. At the same time members of the World Heritage community were looking at ways of opening up the limited definition of cultural heritage.

3.4.2 Finding another way of describing cultural values

Tongariro was not the only site to be nominated at that Banff meeting that did not readily fit the existing criteria. The nomination of the Lake District by the United Kingdom was also rejected. This, second, attempt to nominate the Lake District was examined as a test case for the inclusion of rural landscapes on the World Heritage List. As the meeting report states, 'The Committee discussed this case in detail and, although many members showed great interest in including this property, no consensus could be reached. The Committee felt that it did not have sufficiently clear criteria to allow it to rule on this type of property' (UNESCO 1990). Noting that there were a number of similar such cases, the Lake District was used as the impetus for the Committee to request the development of a new way of assessing cultural values.

Like the Lake District, the cultural values of Tongariro are not expressed through a building, a monument, or radical physical alteration of the landscape - the sorts of cultural sites that were already on the World Heritage list. ICOMOS was reluctant to consider Tongariro as it felt there was no appropriate (scientific) method to assess the significance. Tony Bennett cites Schnapp's observation that places of memory can fall

outside organising projects, and threaten to undermine the logic of assessment (Bennett 2002, 43). In the case of Tongariro, because the connections between tangata whenua and the landscape are cultural associations not found in individual structures, they are more obvious when they are experienced, rather than when they are photographed or written about. As cultural associations they fell well outside the normal scope of assessing 'monuments' for heritage significance. In the logic of the inscription process, the Committee relies on the ability of written nominations and comparative assessments to pull a site into the global frame so that experts from afar can comment on the site's interests.

In response to this obvious disjuncture between important heritage sites and the Committee's ability to assess these sites, the early 1990s saw efforts to define new categories of World Heritage. Not only did this coincide with the difficult nominations of landscapes like Tongariro and the Lake District, but it also was also synchronous with a changing philosophy in the discourse of natural heritage experts and protected area managers. Geographer, Doug Pocock has identified a changing conception of what constitutes natural heritage (Pocock 1997, 261). He cites IUCN member Jim Thorsell's recognition that 'no area is totally pristine' (Thorsell, 1995 cited in Pocock, 1997:261) as signifying a shift in thinking and a 'more realistic' definition of 'natural'. Pocock claims that current constructions of World Heritage sites imply 'a continuum between areas where natural processes are dominant and those where the human imprint is dominant' with (what have become known as) cultural landscapes falling in the middle. The Convention deliberately considers the agency of humans in this process, referring to some sites as 'combined works of nature and man [sic]' (UNESCO 1972, Convention Article 1).

The location of cultural landscapes on a nature/culture continuum is more complex than Pocock claims. As Lesley Head (2000, 90) states, the definition of sites as 'natural' makes no recognition of the human effort that identified or constructed them. In addition to the 'dominant processes' shaping the physical landscape, there is always an element of culture in the definition of a heritage site. Geographer Don Mitchell also makes the point however that the term 'landscape':

Naturalises a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were something given and inevitable ... it also makes this representation operational by interpellating its beholder in some more or less determinate relation

to its given-ness as a site and a sight (Mitchell 1994 – 1-2, cited in Creswell 2003, 277)

As ‘naturalised’ cultural constructions of human-landscape interactions, there is potential for the use of this term to become confused. The way in which these factors might make a site a ‘cultural landscape’ varies considerably.

For the World Heritage system, the capacity to recognise the significance of human factors in determining landscape character is the major conceptual shift. The Lake District and Tongariro were used as examples at workshops discussing how spiritual or artistic connections to a landscape have determined landscape character in subtle ways. Other case studies of nature-culture ‘collaboration’ included designed parks and gardens, archaeological sites and industrial heritage sites. It is not my intention to present a detailed chronology of the development of the category of cultural landscapes within World Heritage. That has been done elsewhere (see Titchen 1995; von Droste, Plachter and Rossler 1995; Head 2000; Beazley 2001). These authors discuss the different sorts of human/landscape interactions and the ability to find common themes that allow these sites to be compared and assessed for ‘outstanding universal value’. They also emphasise the cultural shift within the World Heritage community that has enabled this new category to emerge (particularly von Droste, Plachter and Rossler who are implicated in the changes).

What is of interest is the capacity for sites to influence how World Heritage is defined (and manifest). The opportunity for alternate conceptions of heritage, like cultural landscapes, was opened up through several different approaches, as I have discussed. We might consider whether this is an example of new types of heritage ‘colonising’ the World Heritage project. Alternatively, is mutability what makes this wide-ranging and ambitious system successful? World Heritage policy makers have sought to refine and expand the World Heritage system to incorporate changing methods of defining heritage value. While the Convention text has remained fixed, the wording of various criteria has changed over the past 25 years. This includes the sorts of changes that geographer, Lesley Head, has analysed for example, where cultural criterion (ii) was altered from ‘influence on a cultural area’ to cultural ‘interchange’, reflecting an acknowledgement of the dynamic nature of heritage; or where the reference to rarity and antiquity in cultural criterion (iii) was replaced with wording relating to

‘exceptional cultural traditions’ including living civilisations (Head 2000, 91). This mutability enables the World Heritage community to reflect shifting theoretical perspectives about heritage values and to change its intentions regarding what is worth saving.

At their annual meeting in 1992 the World Heritage Committee formally accepted the category of cultural landscape. Sites nominated under the cultural criteria (or for both natural *and* cultural criteria – i.e. as a ‘mixed’ site) can now also be earmarked as cultural landscapes, as defined in Operational Guidelines 35-42. There was a great deal of negotiation around this point, with many arguing that a cultural landscape should fall within both sets of criteria. In the end, a purist approach to ‘natural’ sites was taken, and referenced to ‘combined works of nature and man [sic]’ removed from the natural criteria. Hence, cultural landscapes must be ‘cultural’ sites and the category of ‘cultural landscape’ is in effect an additional label attached to a site, alongside recognition of cultural values. The philosophical shift to bring together cultural and natural values did not succeed in altering the fundamental logic at the heart of the Convention, and during inscription the divide between nature and culture persists.

That said, there is considerable use of the term ‘cultural landscape’ when referring to these sites. Three types of cultural landscapes are defined: ‘designed landscapes’; ‘organically evolved landscapes’ (with sub-categories of ‘relict (or fossil) landscape’ and ‘continuing landscape’); and ‘associative’ landscapes. The category of ‘associative cultural landscape’ had been written with Tongariro in mind. This categorisation defines sites that exhibit ‘powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations with the natural element’(UNESCO 1999, Guideline 39). A presentation by Tumu Te Heuheu, the paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, tangata whenua (traditional owner) at the Templin cultural landscapes drafting workshop in 1993 illustrated how Maori tangata whenua show cultural attachment to the Tongariro landscape. There the discussion looked at the capacity for the World Heritage Committee to adequately appraise the global significance of associative cultural landscapes. Once a method was established, it was time to again nominate Tongariro to the World Heritage List.

3.4.3 Inscribing the Tongariro Cultural Landscape

While the inscription of Tongariro purely as a natural World Heritage site, made little difference to its legal status, in the technical terms of the Convention only the volcanic aspects of the site had been recognised, not the significance of the site as representing strong spiritual connections between Maori and the landscape. Only the natural aspects of the site had been found to have World Heritage value. The difference this made in terms of management practice is hard to estimate (and perhaps is best considered in light of the discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 about the consequences of World Heritage listing). In emotional terms, nevertheless, the omission of cultural values in the World Heritage listing made a significant difference to those who prepared the Tongariro nomination. As discussed above, the cultural significance of the site was a primary rationale in seeking World Heritage status in the first place. We could also consider World Heritage listing as a means of national government recognition of the significance of Maori associations with Tongariro. In the context of broader Maori-Pakeha relations, a successful collaboration on the listing of Tongariro would be for the national government an example of explicit effort to celebrate Maori culture, and for Maori it could be seen as a consolidation of claims to the site (I write more about the dynamics of Maori-Pakeha relations in section 4.5.3, below). For several groups within New Zealand then, to have the nomination knocked back on the basis that it could not be assessed was not satisfactory.

In this section I follow the process of nominating Tongariro to the World Heritage List a second time, making another case for inscription as a cultural site. I describe again the three key stages for inscription (outlined above): preparing the nomination; seeking expert evaluation; and consideration by the Committee. As before, this process was influenced both by the desire for a coherent global vision, and the urge to recognise the unique local character of the site. The need to test the new concept of 'cultural landscape' added a further dimension to this negotiation.

3.4.3.1 Bureaucratic submission

The first episode in the re-nomination of Tongariro relates to the role of the World Heritage Centre in coordinating assessment and funding of nominations. After the World Heritage Committee's acceptance of the cultural landscapes criteria, the New

Zealand government submitted to the World Heritage Centre a revised nomination dossier referring to the associative values of the site. Before an ICOMOS evaluation was instigated, however, there was an exchange of correspondence between the World Heritage Centre and the New Zealand Department of Conservation on the issue of 'tentative lists'. It is worth examining this negotiation between the Centre and the state party briefly, for it demonstrates how Committee decisions become bureaucratic practices and take effect.

A 'tentative' or 'indicative' list contains places identified by the state party as sites that they may consider nominating to the World Heritage List in the future. The requirement that each state party has an up-to-date tentative list is in the Operational Guidelines. In 1993, in the interests of making the Global Strategy reviews more comprehensive, this requirement was reiterated by the World Heritage Bureau and Committee. They instructed the Centre not to accept nominations from states that had not prepared a tentative list. New Zealand did not have a list. Like many states parties, the NZ government was wary of drawing up such an indicative list, as domestically it would be a politically charged process that would raise expectations and possibly create controversy. When the project was hypothetical, why risk the ire of those who may be opposed to this conservation designation.

Nevertheless, in September 1993 the New Zealand government received a letter from Bernd von Droste, the then Director of the World Heritage Centre, requesting that a tentative list be submitted. The New Zealand Minister of Conservation replied, asking about the progress of the Tongariro cultural nomination and indicating that New Zealand would not be able to produce a list without considerable consultation with Maori. Appealing to particular local circumstances, they emphasised that because Maori land claims (under the Treaty of Waitangi) were yet to be settled, it was not suitable for discussions about potential World Heritage nominations to take place. In reply, the World Heritage Centre reiterated the requirement and gave a deadline of October 1, if the nomination of Tongariro was to be assessed. They cited the ruling of the Bureau. Some weeks lapsed and the deadline passed before there was a New Zealand government response. But a gap in the files cannot be read to suggest a lack of communication. In mid-October Tumu Te Heuheu went to the Templin workshop on cultural landscapes and three days after that, New Zealand sent an initial list to the

Centre. It contained two properties: Tongariro and Cape Reinga. This was registered as the official NZ tentative list in November 1993, and has not been altered since. Because proper (World Heritage) processes had been followed, and the ruling of the Committee obeyed, the Tongariro nomination was then sent for evaluation by ICOMOS.

This exchange shows how the bureaucratic activities of the World Heritage Centre work to maintain the governmental authority of the system. Despite the state party arguing that it was in a domestic (national) predicament, in order to engage at the transnational scale, the interests of a broader 'global' agenda had to be served. The Centre had to maintain this ruling, despite the personal interests of the Centre Director and others at the World Heritage Centre in seeing a cultural landscape nomination succeed.

3.4.3.2 Altering the Objective Processes Of Evaluation

In contrast, when the ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites) assessment took place at Tongariro, the 'global' rationale for an objective assessment met with an exceptional local situation. The ICOMOS evaluation was conducted by Sarah Titchen, an Australian anthropologist, who had also been engaged in the development of the cultural landscapes' category. She visited the site in November 1993, a month before the December World Heritage Committee meeting where Tongariro was to be assessed. This was the first assessment of a cultural landscape under the World Heritage system, which meant that there was no precedent for evaluation. Having attended the Templin meeting the previous month, however, she had a prior understanding of the site and was armed with case studies and the 'action plan' that the meeting had drafted. This plan provided 'guidance to state parties on the identification, assessment, nomination and management of cultural landscapes for inclusion in the World Heritage List'. Titchen had also met Tumu Te Heuheu at that meeting. As such the mission may well have been straightforward.

As the circumstances were, it was, as Titchen now reflects 'not an ordinary experience' (Titchen 2002, interview). Extracts from her evaluation statement reveal why she felt the cultural associations at Tongariro to be so profound:

Mr Huri Maniapoto, the Kaupapa Atawhai manager of the Tongariro-Taupo Conservancy, died on Friday 12 November... I was encouraged to

participate in the tangi (a traditional Maori funeral) to be held over a period of three days at Mr Maniapoto's family marae. ...Joining with Ngati Tuwharetoa in paying my respects provided an unexpectedly detailed and intense view and understanding of the continuing Maori traditions of the Tongariro region. Traditional oratory, songs, chants prayers and dances were presented by Ngati Tuwharetoa with full ceremony demonstrating important spiritual and ancestral associations between the people and the surrounding volcanic landscape... To experience the reality of this association in the context of a communal ceremonial funeral provided a unique and probably unsurpassable glimpse of the living traditions of Ngati Tuwharetoa. (Titchen 1993, Report to ICOMOS 27 Nov 1993)

Hence the context in which the ICOMOS evaluation was conducted was unusual. Titchen was able to make her evaluation even more appropriately because this sad, serendipitous and intense event consolidated her sense of the area's cultural significance. Her report confirmed the validity of the claims that the state party had made in the nomination dossier, and through her experiences at the site she vouches for the authenticity of attachment between Ngati Tuwharetoa and Tongariro.⁵ This is again an example of the local shaping the global in unexpected and significant ways.

3.4.3.3 World Heritage Committee decision II – cultural values

The next step in a nomination entails the coalescing of local, national and global, as a particular local site moves onto the agenda in the World Heritage Committee meeting. Those Committee sessions where new inscriptions are considered are different from discussions on other agenda items. Since many of the debates about inscription have been flushed out during the Bureau meeting the previous week, many of the delegates choose to stand outside in the corridor conducting other conversations. Yet, listing sessions of the Committee can be entertaining performative ratifications nonetheless, because national delegations often have invited guests from the sites to attend for these

⁵ There is another sense in which Titchen's assessment differs from objective advisory body nomination evaluations. While Titchen's evaluation report claims that the cultural associations at Tongariro meet the threshold of outstanding universal value, she does not indicate how this level of significance is tested. Despite the requirement for a tentative list, no comparisons are made with other sites. Titchen has told me that she read widely and made desktop assessments of significance, but she does not overtly compare it with other sites in New Zealand or the wider Pacific. On another note, she does not reveal whether there was any concern over what the consequences of World Heritage listing will be nor scepticism about the designation. There is no reference made to discussions with Ngati Rangi (the other tribe of tangata whenua for Tongariro National Park). As a visitor to Tongariro in the course of my own interviewing, I have some appreciation of Titchen's reception there. In the course of conversation, she would have described the reason for her presence and as a consequence represented the World Heritage concept to people at the site. In turn, her task was to describe them, in her report back to the Committee.

sessions⁶, and the Committee needs to maintain credibility in this most public part of committee operations.

To the outsider, the Committee and Bureau sessions relating to the listing of sites are probably the most interesting items on the meeting agenda. This is because they present information about the values of sites and the intricacies of why they are significant. Colourful slides illustrating each site are projected as the advisory body representatives enter into a description of the values associated with these places. Occasionally, (particularly if the representative has him/herself been there, or if the site is in grave need of attention) the descriptions become more florid to evoke the sense of place and the significance of the values threatened, thus dramatising the need for the Committee's intervention. Following a decision to List a site, the head of delegation makes a short speech and there is applause (out in the corridors mobile phones 'run hot' passing on the news to those back at home). All this goes to show that what is in one place ordinary practice, does, in another, have an importance.

At the World Heritage Committee meeting in Cartagena, Columbia in 1993 the decision to list Tongariro as a cultural landscape was, then, out of the ordinary on two counts. Firstly, as one of the ground-breaking cultural landscape nominations it did attract a lot of interest and a lively debate in the Committee room. What was too extra-ordinary to be listed the first time, is now so extra-ordinary that it attracts a lot of interest. Secondly, the New Zealand government did not send a delegation to Cartagena, to watch the inscription of Tongariro as a cultural landscape. Although in the event, on the suggestion of other interested states parties, a New Zealand diplomat was pulled in for the debate from another international environmental meeting by coincidence also in Cartagena that week. As the discussion about the site became more intense, he was allowed to read correspondence from the New Zealand government, (Rossler 2002, interview) and in his report afterwards dryly remarked that ' it was not without an element of drama' (Taylor 1993, correspondence). It is difficult to say why the state

⁶ Depending on the proximity or wealth of the state party, delegations may include town mayors, scientific experts and national officials. In recent years, most states parties with sites to be inscribed have sent a delegation. At the Helsinki Committee meeting in December 2001, all but one (Lao PDR) of the nations with sites nominated were represented by a delegate in attendance. The delegations have come to view the final decisions that will justify the years of work that go towards a nomination.

party did not send a delegation, particularly given the confusion about the previous listing. I can only speculate that perhaps they did not have the resources, or think that it was important to be there.

I have read two accounts of this debate. One is the Committee rapporteur's report:

The Committee recalled that this site was originally submitted as a mixed site. However, it was inscribed in 1990 under natural criteria (ii) and (iii) only. At the same time as the Committee revised the criteria for cultural heritage, it requested the New Zealand authorities to resubmit the nomination as a mixed site. The seventeenth extraordinary session of the Bureau reviewed the revised nomination and referred it to the Committee. ICOMOS informed the Committee of a mission to the site in late November 1993. The Committee discussed the matter in detail both from a procedural point of view as well as in regard to the application of criterion (vi). The Committee decided that the stipulation the Operational Guidelines that criterion (vi) be only applied 'in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria' refers to either natural or cultural criteria. After careful consideration, the Committee decided to inscribe Tongariro National Park also under cultural criterion (vi). (UNESCO 1993, World Heritage Committee meeting report)

The second account is a fax sent to Bing Lucas in New Zealand, from his IUCN (World Conservation Union) colleague Jim Thorsell (the IUCN member who assessed Tongariro the first time). It was written as the meeting took place and is in a hurried scrawl. The fax presents the 'discussion of the matter in detail' and 'careful consideration' to which the rapporteur refers, and indicates the protagonists who posed the arguments for and against the listing. IUCN and the USA were the most cautious: IUCN questioned how many landscapes the concept would apply to, and was wary of establishing a precedent. The USA urged that more time be spent discussing the concept. Thailand and Senegal were also hesitant about going ahead. France and Germany however suggested that the 'rules should be bent in exceptional cases' (Thorsell 1993, fax correspondence to B Lucas), referring to the ability to use cultural criterion (vi) without other cultural criteria. The World Heritage Centre director Bernd von Droste stated that a comparative study was required, but Tunisia argued that in this case it was not. Thailand claimed that as the nomination was not submitted in time (before the June Bureau) it ought not to be considered. However, with a view to resolving the impasse in relation to the sole application of criterion (vi), the Thai delegate then also raised the question of whether another cultural criteria might be applied. The Chair referred this to ICOMOS who replied that no other criteria were suitable. Reiterating the nature of the values, the New Zealand representative read a letter from the NZ Department of Conservation. Subsequently, the USA advocated that

the Committee proceed with the listing, but that it should not be a precedent. The representative of France stated that 'there are few sites in the world with this combination of values' (Thorsell 1993, fax correspondence to B Lucas). It seems there was a consensus. In closing ICOMOS noted that technically this is a proposal for inscription under cultural criterion (vi), not a cultural landscape. Regardless, Thorsell's fax trails off with a comment about who is buying the champagne.

These accounts show the range of questions and issues that were considered by the Committee. It is worth noting how some members are concerned with precedents and not breaking the rules, whereas others are willing to recognise the 'exceptional cases'. Some even presume to change the values for which the site will be listed, as though the assessment has been unable to detect the right ones. The final ICOMOS comment at the meeting may have been made to appease those sceptical about the cultural landscape concept. A faction of these people remain, although another 30 or so subsequent cultural landscape nominations have since been passed by the Committee. Yet Henry Cleere (World Heritage representative for ICOMOS) notes that 'the understanding of cultural landscapes within the Committee is shaky. People don't know that if a site is nominated as cultural landscapes it is able to retain prior listings and there is confusion about mixed sites and cultural landscapes' (Cleere 2002, interview). Because cultural landscapes are not a category separate from 'natural' or 'cultural' sites, but rather an additional layer of definition, the concept can be confusing. At the time Tongariro was listed, the ink of the cultural landscapes text was still wet, and the definitions had not been tested. Titchen now describes the nature of the cultural landscapes reform as 'very opportunistic' and 'perhaps done differently ten years later' (Titchen 2002, interview). But these are nonetheless looked back upon as a pivotal times. Tongariro was very much caught up in those events, and its status as the first World Heritage cultural landscape was a product of this dynamism in process.

3.5 Exchanges between Tongariro and World Heritage

Reviewing the dynamics of the Tongariro listing in juxtaposition with the earlier description of the processes of classification, we see how power is not only embedded in the artefacts of World Heritage, the maps and lists, but how it operates in practices of representation. These practices work to both expand and maintain the system, but not

always as predicted in its 'global' strategies. World Heritage, a regime that carries an aura of authority and a formal code of process has, in this chain of events, been shown to operate in ways that are claimed to be opportunistic and messy. This is not a criticism of the processes described. It is a recognition of the contingency of practice. The formal, hierarchical organisation of UNESCO procedures empower actors to speak objectively about World Heritage sites, inhabitants and their cultures in proscribed ways. At the localities of World Heritage practice, however, straightforward and ordinary procedures may be overtaken by extraordinary events.

In a system that collects the 'outstanding', it is understandable that the World Heritage Centre relies on bureaucratic processes to maintain order such that the network holds together. Particularly in this case, when the 'scientific method' of assessment was subject to exceptional circumstances, and where the Committee members were unusually engaged. In the listing of Tongariro we have seen how outcomes are based upon the actions of key individuals, and in some cases those individuals acting in ways that are other than how they theorise practice to properly be done. The procedures for listing are established, but in practice the conduct of a nomination varies. Questions remain, however as to how the local and global reconcile the different scales of identification, and under what kind of network relations? This is not just Tongariro being written onto the World Heritage Centre's map. World Heritage practices are adopted at the locality of the site. It would seem that the local and global are inscribing into each one another. Is this World Heritage colonising Tongariro or Tongariro colonising the logic of World Heritage?

In the next section I aim to cast new light on this question by way of a historical reflection. This is not the first conservation designation to be suggested by outsiders and then taken up at Tongariro. This set of relations associated with World Heritage mirrors those around a century ago, the story of which has been regularly invoked in the identification of Tongariro as World Heritage.

3.5.1 *The Gift*

The narrative of ‘the gift’ is a strong element in the post-Waitangi⁷ history of Tongariro. Reflecting this association, ‘He Koha Tapu – a Sacred Gift’ is the title that the New Zealand government gave to the document nominating Tongariro National Park to the World Heritage List for its cultural heritage values. The story, as told in the nomination document (Department of Conservation New Zealand 1993, 11-14), is set in the historical context of expanding European settlement in New Zealand during the first half of the nineteenth century. Mananui, paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa (tangata whenua at Tongariro) had refused to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, and thus maintained authority in his rohe (tribal lands). This political decision about how best to engage with the British became, however, more critical a few years later when his son, Horonuku, was paramount chief, and saw as inevitable the loss of tapu (sacred) Tongariro lands as a consequence of increasing Pakeha drives to take them. This was brought to a head when the colonial authorities convened a Maori land court to examine the title for the area. Horonuku needed to find a way of saving the Tuwharetoa rohe. His pakeha son-in-law, Lawrence Grace, suggested making Tongariro *tapu* under the ‘mana of the Queen’ in order to protect the site. As local historian, James Cowan has recounted, Horonuku agreed with the suggestion and carried it through:

‘ Yes,’ said the old man; ‘ that is the best course, the right thing to do! They shall be a sacred place of the Crown, a gift for ever from me and my people.’... the suggestion was placed before the Judge, and was agreed to by the people. By common consent the mountain tops were left in the hands of Te Heuheu and his family. Thereupon Mr. Grace drew out a brief document offering the peaks to the Crown. It was signed by Te Heuheu, with whom were associated for the purposes of the gift a number of his principal co-chiefs. This preliminary deed of gift, written on a sheet of foolscap paper, was sent to the Government. (Cowan 1927, 32-3)

In this deed, the paramount chief also set the conditions of his ‘gift’ – that his father be built a tomb, and that his son’s name be inserted in the National Park Act. The Gift was accepted by the government, who established Tongariro as New Zealand’s first National Park, and the fourth such National Park in the world.⁸

⁷ By ‘post-Waitangi’ I refer to the period of history in New Zealand since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This is a common reference to the period of time coincident with European settlement. I discuss the Treaty of Waitangi in Chapter 4.

⁸ It would be interesting to chart the chain of relations that led to the idea of a National Park being put forward, back in the 1880s. It has been suggested that Lawrence Grace had heard

Describing the significance of the ‘gifting of the mountains as a National Park’ by his ancestor, current paramount chief, Tumu Te Heuheu has made two observations:

The first is that [the gifting] was a political act by a leader who recognised that the odds were against him and it was therefore necessary to perform an act so courageous as to save his people and his land.

The second is that I believe that Horonuku was motivated by the spiritual dimension of the act of giving his gift, because by that very act he decisively established his mana, his ahi kā or his fire place, against all other claims to his land and his mountains. (T. Te Heuheu 1987, speech)

Depending on who is telling it, the Gift story presents the creation of a National Park as a calculated act, a forced decision, a canny manoeuvre or a compromise. In the speeches and documents that have translated the tale into World Heritage discourse, including the nomination document, it is often told as an act of conservation and benevolence. The wisdom of Horonuku, or Te Heuheu Tukino (as he is also known) is praised. As Tumu Te Heuheu suggests, for Ngati Tuwharetoa, gifting the land as ‘sacred’ has also meant keeping their authority over the land. The gift story is therefore a discursive framing for a set of exchanges about property and responsibility with regard to this site.

Tumu’s father Sir Hepi Te Heuheu similarly builds the idea of shared property into the story, reflecting that:

Horonuku’s gift says these sacred mountains are to be owned by no-one and yet for everyone. My Tuwharetoa people wish his gift to be remembered for all time. The mountains of the south wind have spoken to us for centuries. Now we wish them to speak to all who come in peace and in respect of their tapu. This land of Tongariro is our mutual heritage. (H. Te Heuheu 1987, cited in T. Te Heuheu 1993, 6)

This description of Tongariro as a ‘mutual heritage’ site by virtue of the gifting sits quite nicely within the justification for World Heritage inscription. Considering the two separate phases in the history of Tongariro as a gifted territory – the gifting in 1887 as ‘New Zealand’s first national park’, and the nomination of Tongariro to the World

about the declaration of Yellowstone National Park, a few years earlier, and so advised Horonuku about the national parks concept (New Zealand Department of Conservation 1993, 12). At the New Zealand Archives, I read in an exhibition ‘Reclaiming our Natural Heritage’, that ‘a recreation reserve was established at Mt Cook under the terms of the 1881 Dominion Act. Three years later politician AK Newman suggested that Mt Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro and other features of the district be reserved as a national park’ (Archives New Zealand 2002, interpretation board). This suggests that the idea was in circulation amongst white New Zealanders before Horonuku made his infamous declaration.

Heritage List – we can detect similarities in the process and motivation for both these acts.

These acts were, however, conducted in very different contexts. The most important distinction is the ability of tangata whenua (as the ‘people of the land’) to stop the decision to list Tongariro. Tangata whenua in modern New Zealand had the power to stop World Heritage listing going ahead. In contrast 1887, the oral and archival record of events suggests there was very little sense of choice about the re-designation of Tongariro. Declaring the area a National Park was the best option available. Furthermore, the potential consequences of the acts of gifting are quite different. Transition from pre-colonial Tongariro to National Park is much more radical than the change that World Heritage listing heralds (as I discuss below: pp 67-9). For tangata whenua, as Te Heuheu recognises, there are potential strategic gains from achieving World Heritage status, particularly through the recognition of associative cultural values. With the original gift, there were symbolic benefits, but the material consequences for the landscape have been profound. The strategic reworking of the gift story thus has potency, but the parallels between the outcomes of the first gift and that of the World Heritage related ‘gift’ are limited.

Despite these significant differences, the World Heritage listing of Tongariro may still be viewed as a gift – both as a declaration of intent to conserve on the part of the New Zealand government and a conferring of symbolic value by the World Heritage community. In this the two processes are akin. As Mauss’ work ‘The Gift’ (1926) discusses, the act of gifting enhances the charisma of those who give. It is said that Horonuku’s mana was enhanced through making the original gift. Similarly, in nominating Tongariro to the World Heritage List, both the site and the New Zealand Government receive the prestige associated with World Heritage status and good global citizenship. According to Mauss, gifting also places expectations on the receiver. Horonuku expected that the Crown would honour the intention of his gift, ‘for the land to remain tapu under the mana of the Queen’ by governing the land accordingly. The commitment to manage under the terms of the World Heritage status also entails a complementary obligation on the part of the World Heritage community, to support actions to conserve the site. The gift is thereby reciprocated through its effects.

When Mauss writes about gift relations in Polynesia, he cites a description of Maori gift-giving told by Tamati Ranaipiri (to ethnographer Elsdon Best) wherein the act of giving a gift entails reciprocal relations (Mauss (1954) 2002, 14). 'Even when it has been abandoned by the giver', Mauss writes, '[the gift] still possesses something of him. Through it the giver has a hold over the beneficiary'(Mauss (1954) 2002, 15). In these exchanges we see how benevolence brings an increase in status (and places an obligation on the receiver). This inter-relation has been expanded by Mauss and others to refer to community relations more broadly and to explain a logic of conduct. We could thus assess the way the World Heritage movement gains status because of the interest that the transnational World Heritage community shows in heritage sites. In fact, because World Heritage becomes manifest in sites, inscribing a site on the World Heritage List implies a reciprocal obligation that the site will be conserved within, and for, the World Heritage system.

The relations built through inscribing Tongariro to the World Heritage List are, therefore, in some ways analogous to the colonial designation/indigenous gifting of Tongariro. 'The gift' stands for a cluster of exchanges, between Western concepts of property, indigenous sacred connections, new ideas about National Parks, claims to authority by traditional owners, and appeals to outside ('global') interests. World Heritage is a much more modern exchange relationship or heritage registration and as a bureaucratic means of governmental calculation and control. Yet even within this kind of relationship we see ways in which the local site writes itself into the larger institution. Just as paramount chief Horonuku set conditions ensuring his son was 'written into' the National Park legislation, the Tongariro cultural landscape has had an effect on the definitions of cultural landscape within the World Heritage Operational Guidelines. In each case, a local voice (albeit one informed by go-betweens like Bing Lucas and Lawrence Grace) put forward a case for inscription within the institution.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the process of inscribing a site on the World Heritage list is constituted by a series of exchanges. These events are like stages in a mangling process, as different parties accommodate and resist new ideas and together create a way in which local and global aims can coincide. As a transnational mode of

governance, World Heritage relies upon the co-operation of states parties to enact the global project. Operating as a collective they create, classify and represent the concept. Within their own national territories, states parties locally represent the material substance of World Heritage through the listing and conservation of sites.

Following Latour who refers to 'inscriptions' as 'transformations through which an entity becomes materialised into a sign' (Latour 1999, 306), the process by which Tongariro has ended up on the World Heritage map, has been a transformation where the local gets described in 'global' terms. For a while, the vocabulary did not exist within the World Heritage system to be able to define Tongariro. The site fell outside the normal system of classification between natural and cultural sites, and did not suit the techniques of assessment used to determine World Heritage significance. But rejection the first time round was a catalyst within another chain of events – leading to a broader institutional change in practice within in the World Heritage system. These changes led to the development of a new category, and a way of inscribing Tongariro on the World Heritage list. In so doing, Tongariro has also contributed to shaping the World Heritage system.

The interactions I have described show some ways in which the World Heritage system evolves, and how it works through translations between local and transnational scales. These translations between key localities of World Heritage – the World Heritage site, the Committee room, the State Party bureaucracy – are everyday practices that sustain World Heritage discourse. Inscription is one kind of linking practice. It shows how ideas are passed on through a network by a series of references, in this case through the documents like the nomination, the Convention and the Operational Guidelines. The 'global' framing of World Heritage emphasises universality and a capacity to incorporate the diversity of forms in which the World's Heritage is manifest. By reassessing the logic by which these forms are identified to include even more 'peculiar' places, the system appears even more comprehensive. For Tongariro the designation confirms the significance of particular meanings of the site, and gives the site new meaning. In the following Chapter I address how the authority of World Heritage listing is manifest at Tongariro.

Chapter

5

Invoking authority in the World Heritage system Mobilizing meanings of Tongariro to protect heritage

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine how references to Tongariro circulate through the World Heritage system, as different authorities within the system anticipate and respond to changes in the landscape. Multiple narratives about Tongariro are called upon to inform management decisions. I show here how the World Heritage system maintains itself in the face of divergent, even contradictory narratives, discussing a recent management debate to observe such dynamics. Tongariro World Heritage site is valued as ‘globally’ significant because of the scientific stories that are constructed around the geological and biological processes that shaped that landscape as well as the cultural stories that demonstrate the associations that tangata whenua have with the ‘cultural landscape’. In Chapters 3 and 4 I showed how these natural and cultural values of Tongariro are inscribed and performed through World Heritage listing. The process of identifying Tongariro as having these meanings establishes the grounds for the very relations that sustain the World Heritage institution, that is, the relationship between a site and the international World Heritage community. Exploring the relationship between meaning and managing, I look further at how the World Heritage values of the site re-emerge in management discussions, and how World Heritage status may be invoked in local debates.

By ‘acts of ‘invoking’, suggested in the title of this chapter, I mean the ways in which actors solicit each other to support a position, ‘rousing ideas, emotions and images’ (O.E.D.) in arguments. With reference to the idea of ‘invoking’, this chapter seeks to examine not just the flows of knowledge circulating through Tongariro and the World Heritage system, but the way these flows produce and sustain the system. It investigates the ways World Heritage actors in and beyond Tongariro work together in dynamic circumstances and interrogates the institution’s capacities to accommodate unforeseen events, or conflicting claims. Whereas in Chapter 4, management planning processes involved translation and acts of textual and

conceptual accommodation, the concern of this chapter is with how matters are negotiated at moments of practical intervention.

This chapter moves from a discussion of planning (Chapter 4) to consider the dynamics of management action within a changing landscape. 'Landscape values' are the object of World Heritage listing. But how does knowledge of the landscape, that very object of World Heritage interest, circulate through the World Heritage institution? A question such as this is especially pertinent for Tongariro as a visibly active landscape. The volcanic character of Tongariro National Park has become a crucial management issue. It is considered to be both threatened and threatening. This chapter therefore pays particular attention to debates about the management of volcanic risk at Tongariro. This issue provides an illustrative example of how the landscape figures in the World Heritage institution. Various meanings of the Tongariro landscape are invoked during negotiations over volcanic risk management. In this discourse of management actors have conflicting views about the degree of human intervention required in the landscape. The rationale of environmental protection, described previously, is tested against other meanings. The case study of volcanic risk provides an opportunity to pay closer attention to what is being governed as World Heritage; to how the (ir)rationality and credibility of knowledge influences management; and to an understanding of the dynamics of negotiation and invocation.

5.2 Steam plumes and science alerts: landscape emissions and the stability of the World Heritage institution

As noted, the concept of 'landscape' – both natural and cultural – is at the centre of World Heritage discourse about Tongariro. Artefacts such as the management plan and the nomination dossier work to define that landscape, not only reflecting but also determining how the Tongariro landscape is valued. Through the course of managing Tongariro as a World Heritage site, these terms and artefacts become more complex as they are put to work. World Heritage listing guides the ways in which the physical landscape is written (as the object of concern) into management.

Here I focus on those descriptions that refer to the active volcanic landscape. I examine the moments of translation where management discourse refers to and draws upon the landscape. World Heritage management relies upon regular

updates on the state of the landscape. This applies the model discussed in the previous chapter, where 'informed management' is structured around the recursive activity of planning-managing-monitoring.

The following email 'science alert bulletin' is an example of the sorts of descriptions of landscape which become incorporated into the day-to-day World Heritage system:

----- Yahoo! Groups Sponsor ----->
Get A Free Psychic Reading! Your Online Answer To Life's Important Questions.
<http://us.click.yahoo.com/Lj3uPC/Me7FAA/CNxFAA/DNtoIB/TM>
----->

SCIENCE ALERT BULLETIN: RUA-01/2003
11.30 am Monday, 26 May 2003

Ruapehu Volcano update:
Steam plumes, volcanic tremor and Crater Lake temperatures

Since the middle of March 2003 the temperature of Ruapehu's summit Crater Lake has been slowly rising, and is now slightly over 40°C. Similar temperatures were observed in January 2003 when the lake temperature reached 42°C.

This morning around 10.00 am a steam plume was observed above the Crater Lake, rising 2-300m. No seismic activity accompanied this plume, suggesting there was no eruption and that the plume was generated by atmospheric conditions alone. Steam plumes were also observed on April 21.

Ruapehu Crater Lake has been visited three times recently to record the lake temperature and collect water samples. The lake temperature has risen from 30°C on March 5 to reach 41.6°C on May 15. During this time there has been an increase in the background levels of volcanic tremor and some volcanic earthquakes have also been recorded. There have been no significant changes observed in the lake water chemistry.

This is the fourth time that the temperature of the Crater Lake has risen above 35°C since the start of 2001. It is not unusual for the temperature of the Crater Lake to cycle over periods of 6-9 months. Minor hydrothermal activity can occur in the lake during the temperature peaks.

As there is no change in activity the Alert Level for Ruapehu remains at Alert Level 1

For further volcano status information see <http://www.geonet.org.nz>
For previous Science Alert Bulletin see
<http://www.gns.cri.nz/what/earthact/volcanoes/bulletins.html>
For an explanation of the alert levels see
http://www.gns.cri.nz/what/earthact/volcanoes/alertl_1.html

Brad Scott
Volcano Surveillance Co-ordinator

Visit our volcano cams here: <http://www.geonet.org.nz/ruapehu.html>
To unsubscribe, send a message to: geobullet-unsubscribe@yahoogroups.com
To subscribe, send a message to: geobullet-subscribe@yahoogroups.com
Your use of Yahoo! Groups is subject to <http://docs.yahoo.com/info/terms/>

Table 4 'Science Alert Bulletin' (Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences 2003, May 26)

Mount Ruapehu is one of the three main peaks that form the Tongariro 'gift area' – the area now thought of as 'the core of the National Park' (Carlyon 2002, interview). All three peaks are classified as active volcanoes. Ruapehu has been the most recently active and last erupted in 1995-6. Since that cycle of major volcanic activity, low-level environmental changes continue to be recorded. The New Zealand national Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences monitors various sites on the mountain and provide reports (as above) whenever anything unusual occurs. The Institute's email list is open to anyone with an interest in the volcanoes. There is considerable public and professional interest in the volcanic activity of Ruapehu, (see below). This includes international interest associated with the World Heritage status of the National Park. These email bulletins therefore circulate about the globe: to the World Conservation Union (IUCN) in Switzerland, for example, to the World Heritage Centre in Paris, to the Department of Conservation Whakapapa office further down Ruapehu's slope; and to me in Edinburgh. We are all alerted to the event of a 2-300 m plume of steam. The rumbles of Ruapehu thereby resonate far afield, and we can monitor the responses which the bulletin (and the dynamic landscape) provoke.

The above bulletin presents a series of events and observations: the steam plume rose; the steam plume was observed; the water heated up; the water temperature was recorded and compared with previous observations; and a decision about the 'alert' status was made. The described processes alternate between human and non-human agents. The environment changes and is observed and recorded. Andrew Pickering terms this interaction between humans and non-humans a 'dance of agency' (Pickering 1995, 9). He explains the interactions between human scientists and non-human machines to illustrate his point:

As active, intentional, beings, scientists tentatively construct some new machine. They then adopt a passive role, monitoring the performance of the machine to see whatever capture of material agency it might effect. Symmetrically, this period of human passivity is the period in which material agency actively manifests itself. (Pickering 1995, 21)

This bulletin describes a similar 'dance'. The overall process (the management of the landscape) is a human construct. Land management is influenced however by both human actions (comparison of water temperatures) and non-human actions

(emissions of steam 200 metres into the air).¹ Bruno Latour describes this combination of human and non-human agency a 'collective' engagement (Latour 1999, 193). In this example of 'collective engagement' then, the Tongariro landscape enters the discourses of World Heritage government by human mediation. This allows landscape dynamics to be incorporated into practices of planning and management.

As I hope to show, negotiating management of Tongariro is as much about mediating claims over the landscape as it is about managing the material landscape. The landscape is not a passive object of conservation concern. Emissions from the landscape run through the institution, translated into World Heritage discourse by a variety of actors. Management of a World Heritage site is therefore an ongoing pattern of accommodation and resistance. In recent years, as consequence of the 1995-6 volcanic eruption of Mount Ruapehu there has been an intensification of debate about managing the landscape. I describe this particular entanglement of interests, to see how various inscriptions are circulated, translated and accommodated within the World Heritage institution.

5.3 Constructions, demolitions and the management of meaningful and material landscapes

In the previous chapters I have followed how the landscape has been inscribed as World Heritage and bound into a set of institutional relations for governing the site. But what happens when the landscape changes? The email bulletin cited above demonstrates the dynamic nature of the landscape. Human constructions of the landscape are correspondingly mutable. In this section I want to examine how management of volcanic risks becomes a matter of debate by virtue of the different ways in which the Tongariro landscape is constructed as heritage site, as a 'stable'

¹ From the outset of this discussion of landscape dynamics, I want to make clear what sort of agency I am ascribing to the physical landscape. The landscape is a non-human actor with which humans interact. There are however limits on the scope of these interactions. The landscape affects humans in very material ways. The landscape is not a social actor. It does not act in the same ways as human authorities within the institutional network space of World Heritage. The landscape nevertheless affects social relations, as the steam plume illustrates.

category lent further significance since the land itself is unstable.

Statements of 'heritage value' stand as justification for action within conservation discourse. One aspect of the Tongariro landscape that has been stabilised as a 'heritage value' is its geo-scientific significance. The scientific interest (as found in my '*science alert bulletin*') was explained to me by Harry Keys, Department of Conservation Scientist:

[Tongariro is a] scientifically important area, I don't know if you know, but the geo-preservation stuff in NZ: there's three categories A, B, and C. 'A' is international significance; 'B' is national and 'C' is local. Ruapehu has got three 'A's: the Crater lake; the lava layers over quite a significant proportion of the volcano, which have all been dated and studied and so forth; and the outwash fan of the lava, where the lahar comes out of the gorge, and that has been studied intensely, and it's a classic - Ruapehu's a classic example of interaction with magma and water, [it's] one of two volcanoes where it has been studied. (Keys 2002, interview)

The World Heritage designation of the site on geological grounds draws upon the 'geo-preservation' classifications to which Keys refers. These evaluations provide a further example of how the cultural construction of Tongariro, in World Heritage terms, intersects with other ways of knowing the site – and thus further stabilise the World Heritage definition by 'holding on' to other authorities. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the World Heritage institution is not a discrete, internally-referent network.

Keys goes on to discuss the territorial consequences of this particular construction, relating the geological significance to the park zoning system. Areas of high geological significance within Tongariro National Park are zoned as 'minimal infrastructure' to prevent disruption of geological processes (there is a parallel here to how 'the gifting' marked Tongariro as spiritually significant for tangata whenua and thus protected it from encroaching agricultural use). Keys indicates that these zonings become complicated, however, when other implications of Tongariro's volcanism are taken into account: 'it is an active volcano and a dangerous volcano, so you can't take a pure snow approach... but that's part of the balancing, given that World Heritage is an extension of National Parks - a 'world park' - that's not unreasonable' (Keys 2002, interview). Keys is referring to the places where geological monitoring and hazard prevention works have been carried out in geological conservation areas. By suggesting that the designation of geological significance must be managed alongside other concerns, he acknowledges the compromises are negotiated when managing these sites.

'Balancing' the management principle of non-interference in 'natural' processes on the one hand with the protection of the public in a 'dangerous' environment on the other, is a key trope of conservation area governance. It is of considerable relevance to Tongariro. The potential dangers of the Tongariro peaks are, for many, a grave concern. Events like steam plumes are reminders of a potential danger. At the moment these events are interpreted with regard for the potential lahar threat from Crater Lake. A lahar is a large release of water and volcanic matter. This lahar is a likely consequence of the 1995-6 eruption of Mt Ruapehu, when the Crater Lake was emptied in the volcanic explosion. Since the eruption Crater Lake has been filling with water, with no outlet or stream to drain it. As time passes, the increasing volume of water therefore means the lake will breach the crater rim and flood down the mountain. Both the direction and timing of the flood are difficult to predict. With close monitoring of seismic activity and the lake water temperature and volume, the Park managers hope to be forewarned of the event.

The alarmist connotations of the 'science *alert* bulletin', contributes to the discourse of risk associated with the management of the potential lahar. Being prepared for the event is acutely important. In the 1950s a lahar from the same mountain resulted in the deaths of 151 people. Memory of this disaster colours current discussion of volcano risk management. The draft management plan, for example, recalls the incident in the section on Volcanic Hazards:

In recent times, a lahar caused the death of 151 people in the Tangiwai Disaster of 1953. Partial collapse of the Crater Lake outlet sent a formidable lahar down the Whangaehu River, washing away the rail bridge. In 1969 and 1975 eruption lahars caused minor damage to ski areas.(Department of Conservation 2002, 81)

Recent history thus provides further reason for the geological activity of the mountains to be closely watched. The lack of prior warning in 1953 had grave consequences. The memory of the Tangiwai disaster underlies contemporary site management discourse. Park managers are understandably anxious to gain and disseminate information about the next potential lahar and hence, the email alert states that Ruapehu remains at 'alert level one'.

There have been various suggestions of actions that might allay the lahar threat. Discussion about how to best 'manage' the lahar illustrates the relations between constructions of an active 'natural' landscape and the instrumentalist discourse of scientific governmentality. A proactive management rationale seeks to mitigate any

effects the lahar might have on human or other resources. One management solution favoured by the Ruapehu District council and Transit New Zealand (who operate a rail line through the Park) is to excavate through the rim of the crater and thus cause a controlled release of water. Harry Keys attributes this to 'factions within the regional councils [who] would like to see us put a bulldozer up on the crater rim and bulldoze the tephra dam away down to the hard rock rims so that it eliminated the lahar risk' (Keys 2002, interview). Bringing the 'bulldozers' into his presentation of this management option, Keys signals his attitude towards the suggestion. As a conservation scientist, Keys points out the difficulties with the 'bulldozing' intervention, in practical and philosophical terms:

Whenever you have a full lake and an eruption, there's always a lahar risk, so they're not actually winning. All they're going to do is prevent one process, and there'll still be another risk when there's a series of events and another lahar risk. So we believe that this is a natural hazard. And are we going to jump in and do something to a natural hazard in an area like a World Heritage or a cultural heritage area, when nature does something? It just doesn't make sense. The whole place is put aside for its natural processes, its values, and one of those values is the natural hazards it produces as part of those processes. (Keys 2002, interview)

Keys' rationale invokes the meanings of the heritage site in symbolic terms, as an institutionally-approved 'conservation' area, and as a site conserved specifically for its 'natural processes' and 'hazards'. This meaning is drawn up against the identity of the Tongariro peaks as a place of bad memory. The threat of volcanic hazards and the tragic recent history are thus implicated in the construction of threats *to* the 'natural' character of the landscape posed by the bulldozers. Tongariro National Park is both threatened and threatening.

These two aspects of the Tongariro landscape were dramatically contrasted against each other in the New Zealand national media, as the lahar management decision became an 'issue'. Casting this management dilemma as one which weighs up the threats to human life against the symbolic significance of the 'natural' landscape, sets up a difficult argument. It is further complicated, however, by the other justification for the conservation of Tongariro: that the landscape has specific 'cultural' significance. The articulation of spiritual and consciously 'cultural' meanings establishes another way in which Tongariro is an imagined landscape. The Tongariro peaks are a designated sacred site. According to the facts of conservation governance, this symbolic landscape (like its material self) ought not be ruptured. The proposal to bulldoze is troubling for tangata whenua for exactly

this reason. According to their spiritual beliefs such an intervention is contrary to the ways in which the mountain should be treated. Intervention in the geological landscape is also construed as an intervention in the spiritual dimensions of the site.

Tumu Te Heuheu explains how the views of tangata whenua sit amongst the concerns of the wider community:

Those hapu and tribes that surround the mountain, their concern will be no different to the communities of World Heritage and others. But their primary focus (which is part of the process of World Heritage)... the primary focus for iwi will be the protection of the cultural values ... If you talk to Ngati Rangi and Tuwharetoa about the Lake, they don't see the Lake or the crater as an individual identity, they see the whole as a whole. Tuwharetoa refer to the tops of the mountain as a living thing, so they see the whole rather than the different pieces. So we talked about the Crater Lake thing and what might happen if it overflows. There were suggestions of a drain or draining water off. And I suppose modern man says, well hang on, you can't really play with nature, and so there were those discussions as well. Discussions at the same time also talked about the traditional values, the cultural values, about the taonga, the spiritual. And so the mountain takes on a bigger role, a bigger picture is presented, and Crater Lake is a big part of it. And so what are we trying to do? What we are trying to determine is in our best interests? (Te Heuheu 2002, interview)

Because 'cultural values' (and Treaty of Waitangi principles) have a specified status within the World Heritage site institution, tangata whenua have a particular position from which to put forward their 'best interests'.

Determining the best option for managing the landscape is exactly this sort of negotiation: a determination of 'best *interests*'. Mediation occurs through an assessment of which 'interests' in the mountain, which meanings, warrant primacy. For example, during these discussions tangata whenua representatives and the Department of Conservation both advocated against the proposal to bulldoze and argued that the Lake be kept in a 'natural' state (DoC 1999, AEE) In putting this case they drew upon symbolic values of the mountain, its value to tangata whenua and its World Heritage status. Te Heuheu summarises these different designations of the meaning of the Tongariro landscape, listing non-interventionist, 'traditional', 'cultural', 'spiritual', and 'taonga' values. Allowing 'natural', symbolically important processes to take their course was considered to be the best ways of protecting these values, these 'interests'. Debate thus centred around how symbolic values might be protected whilst mitigating the risk of another fatal disaster. By invoking these meanings of the site during management discussions, actors draw upon the significance attached to various claims to meaning.

Those negotiating an outcome must work with both reported 'facts' about the activity of the landscape, and with the symbolic power of various vested interests (who produce these 'facts'). Yet 'facts' are re-configured differently as different constructions of the Tongariro landscape are drawn upon. Reviewing the lahar debate, for example, we can see how statements about 'threats' become re-worked through the discussions. Volcanic activity is recorded as evidence of the geological values. It is described as a 'natural process', yet a facet of the human-environment relationship also construes these acts of nature as dangerous.

The recent history of the Tongariro landscape confirms this potential danger. A suggested response to the threat of the landscape is to intervene in the volcanic processes. This, however, constitutes a threat *to* the landscape. An intervention would threaten the geological heritage values and the 'cultural' values, which are both constructs based on philosophies of non-intervention. In some senses then, intervening in the lahar also becomes a threat to the idea of conservation at Tongariro. Threats to the heritage values signal a lack of conservation action – reflecting back on the conservation managers and the efficacy of the conservation institution at the site.

Through these permutations, reports about volcanic activity are employed both to signify potential danger and to demonstrate the potency of the 'natural' geological landscape. The actions of the landscape are co-opted in both configurations of threat. This is why, in this context, I am interested in examining the human actors within the collective of human/non-human agency. Non-human (landscape) activity is certainly a trigger for discussions (so we should watch for the material activity of the volcano, as it may have considerable consequences). But the effects of non-human actions depend upon the mediation of human agents. The 'imbroglio of humans and non-humans' (Latour 1999, 201), that is the lahar management debate is mixed by human agents. The volcano does what volcanoes do. Humans determine how the rumbles of the landscape resound within the governing institution. The double-edged threat of the landscape comes through the ambiguity of human responses to volcanic activity.

These ways of imagining volcanic Tongariro are re-invoked each time an email bulletin comes through or a report about the site is written. Extending the

consequences of management, relating interventions in the material landscape to the symbolic landscape, serves to reinforce the definitions of value and the importance of the value systems themselves. Yet this may also work to question the significance of such meanings. By scrutinising the value of geological heritage against the potential dangers of the lahar, the significance of heritage designation is tested. The New Zealand government thus has to work out to what extent protection of the landscape is in its best interests.

5.4 Risks, responsibilities and 'a concern for the living'

Faced with these arguments for and against intervention, National Park managers (and other Department of Conservation officials) set about systematically considering their options. Representatives from scientific, bureaucratic, indigenous, civil defence and economic organisations were drawn into this discussion. The Department of Conservation mediated the debate, working through a planning process of environmental impact assessment and reporting to the Park Board of Management.

The process of assessment led these parties to refer back to the principles of governance. Tumu te Heuheu describes going up the mountain with a kaumatua (senior tangata whenua) during these discussions:

I had a kaumatua with me on one of our visits to the mountain. And he was a kaumatua from N Rangi. And we were told that in earlier days all their chiefs and leaders were interred in the Crater Lake area. So when we talked about whether they might dig a ditch for the Lake to be drained, my question to him was: 'What are your thoughts? Because this is a special place to you. It's waahi tapu.' And he was quiet for a few minutes, and his response was: 'I am concerned for the living.' Now I had to think about what that meant, given that that was a special place for him, and I thought that his response was really the response of a leader. He made a judgement 'I am concerned for the living' and he didn't say we should do this or do that... And so the strong affinity that people have for the mountain [was recognised], but they're mindful that nature has its own way of delivering the message. The decisions that were taken to leave the mountain and focus our attention below the mountain, to make sure we had sufficient protection to look after the people – that's without touching the mountain... It doesn't remove their concern, but that's the job of the living to make sure that you do what you can – and that's what he said: 'I have a concern for the living'. (Te Heuheu 2002, interview)

Te Heuheu reads three key things into this kaumatua's 'concern for the living'. First, that it refers to a group of living people, of lives, who require 'sufficient protection'. Secondly, this is a concern for the mountain as an entity capable of 'delivering a message' (which harks back to his earlier comment about the

‘mountain as a living thing’ (see p. 59)). Thirdly, his concern relates to the affinity that living people have for the mountain, and their ‘job to do what they can’.

These concerns are ‘concern for the life of the population’ – a facet of modern governmentality (Rose 1989, 1999). There is an expectation that the role of the state is to protect citizens from dangers (such as the lahar). Demonstrating a ‘concern for the living’, the New Zealand government thus drew upon its administrative resources to calculate the risks associated with the lahar. By monitoring both the mountain and the ‘population at risk’ they sought to predict the likely impacts of a lahar. But as Keys indicates above, the ability to reduce the risk of the lahar through interventions such as bulldozing is questionable. Despite efforts to record and measure the landscape, there remains an element of unpredictability about the lahar.

Decision makers have therefore to accept the limits of available information. The resulting space of unpredictability has been used by advocates from both camps. Keys observed the presence of a ‘politics of fear’, linking the Crater Lake debate to a conversation he heard on the radio discussing fear in Western society. He recalled that ‘the opposition to what we were suggesting [non-intervention] really pushed up the chance of human deaths....And national politicians were saying ‘someone’s going to get killed, someone’s going to get killed’ so the politics of fear is a weapon that is used a lot and it’s a shame’ (Keys 2002, interview). Keys explains that the Department of Conservation tried to avoid this rhetoric by adopting an open methodological stance:

When we did the AEE [Assessment of Environmental Effects], I deliberately said, ‘We could push this one way or the other, but we mustn’t do that. We must be transparent and as objective as we can. We must not hold anything back.’ ...And consequently we were criticised by both sides. (Keys 2002, interview)

The Department of Conservation undertook an ‘objective’ calculation of potential risks associated with both the lahar and the intervention. They were not outwith the politics, however. As landscape managers, they had to make some kind of prediction of likely effects. When the Department of Conservation conservatively estimated that possibly 50 lives might be lost, a major national conservation organisation, Forest and Bird, labelled them ‘shroudwavvers’. Forest and Bird were looking for conservative estimates in relation to the *landscape* rather than the population. They adopted the ‘precautionary principle’ of environmental protection

to argue against intervention.

Concern for the land reflects the second sort of 'concern for the living' referred to by Te Heuheu. Tangata whenua have a responsibility for the life of the landscape through cultural protocols. This is matched by governmental discourse designating Tongariro a protected landscape. Latour defines political ecology as extending governmental concerns for the human population to incorporate responsibility towards non-humans:

Lawyers, activists, ecologists, businessmen, political philosophers, are now seriously talking, in the context of our ecological crisis, of granting to nonhumans some sort of rights and even legal standing... political representation of nonhumans seems not only plausible now, but necessary. ... [The non human] has acquired properties of citizenship (Latour 1999, 202)

The Tongariro landscape, through national legal frameworks as well as World Heritage government, is a protected object. The ability for the landscape to 'live' and function ecologically has become a cause defended by a coalition of interests. Rational scientific interest in the geological processes of the landscape coincides with spiritual explanations of Papa-Tu-A-Nuku and Rangi and the creation of the volcanoes as living entities. Tangata whenua recognise the respect for the landscape evident in the ethics of their Department of Conservation colleagues. Similarly, spiritual connections with the landscape are 'rationalised' by scientists who find logical reasons for indigenous land management practices. The mediation of spiritual values by experts serves to further legitimate 'cultural actors' within scientific discourse. As noted in Chapter 4, the government recognises a coalition of interest too, and tangata whenua relations are institutionalised in the World Heritage site bureaucracy and the management plan.

This alliance of concerned parties is itself an object of the kaumatua's concern. His 'concern for the living' is extended to relate to those who carry a responsibility for this management decision. Te Heuheu's interpretation of 'the living' refers to his current generation of tangata whenua living with responsibilities for the landscape and who need to think about 'best interests'. These interests are not immediately clear, as tangata whenua have conflicting responsibilities too. Keys noted that the consequences of the lahar could include the loss of the Taupo fishery, a major economic interest for Tuwharetoa. These 'living' also carry responsibility for how the cultural significance of the landscape is explained to the public. Furthermore, they are duty bound to act on behalf of a threatening non-human actor.

The burden of governing the mountains means a return to the question: 'what are we governing for?'. The interests of government are tested through the framing of the debate as one that protects either the landscape or the population. It is not a question that can be unequivocally answered. Returning to fundamental principles as designated by World Heritage did assist, however, in sketching out a solution in territorial and philosophical terms. In amongst the politics of fear and the rhetorics of political ecologists, the process of debate did enable a more finely grained articulation of the concerns for government. The landscape being protected is a particular sort of landscape. So the examination of what was important to be kept as 'natural', and was what was acceptable to manage was a way of working out an appropriate degree of intervention. The New Zealand government was therefore able to reach a material solution. At a national level they resolved not to intervene in the Crater Lake with 'bulldozers', but instead to intensively monitor the site for volcanic activity and to erect 'bunds' further down the slope to channel the lahar flow away from settlements. These measures were considered acceptable, albeit as Keys states 'something that you normally wouldn't do in a national park, in a scientifically important area' (Keys 2002, interview).

In many ways this process of resolution was one that had to happen on the ground. It required an examination of the relative impacts of action in one park location as compared with intervention at another. The determination of 'best interests' between the life of the population and the 'natural' activity of the volcanic landscape required empirical grounding in order to be worked out. The resolution is thus peculiar to the site, and could not have been imposed from elsewhere. It is intriguing, then, that a number of the Tongariro site management staff who I interviewed cited the Crater Lake as an example of how global designation had had a local impact. They claimed that World Heritage status had been a critical factor in deciding which action to take. Greg Carylton said that '[World Heritage] listing supported where we were coming from incredibly well, and that might have been one of the things that tipped it in our favour' (Carylton 2002, interview). His colleague Paddy Gordon stated that World Heritage 'adds a little bit of extra weight' (Gordon 2002, interview). Another interviewee suggested that the Crater Lake issue may be a case study for best practice World Heritage management (Titchen 2002, interview). Curious about how World Heritage was implicated in solving the management debate, I returned to the files. Unravelling the email

exchanges, letters and faxes that precede the science alert bulletin, I followed a chain of correspondence on this subject between the National Park and other parties in the World Heritage institution.

5.5 World Heritage Government and the Lahar

Not long after the initial eruption in 1996, the New Zealand government wrote to the World Heritage Centre addressing the possibility that a lahar might occur. This correspondence established the lahar as a subject of concern between the global and local authorities. Management of the lahar has thus been a matter for debate at local, national and World Heritage Committee levels. Beginning with letters from this time, I have summarised the communication between parties in Figure 4 (below). Each box refers to an exchange on the subject of the lahar between actors in the institution. These exchanges informed, solicited, requested and dutifully reported. The Department of Conservation consulted locally and also sought advice from other authorities within the World Heritage institution. The World Heritage Centre represented the advice of the World Heritage Committee and World Heritage Bureau, updating the state party and the advisory bodies on meeting discussions. In this way the different parties became implicated in the decision, through the sharing of knowledge about the situation.

These letters impart a sense of what is at stake when involving the World Heritage institution in management of Tongariro. Managing the lahar risk requires an examination of how heritage value is manifest in the site. The reasons for Tongariro's inscription were the same reasons employed in arguments against intervention. Both the geological significance and the cultural associations could be explained as internationally important. World Heritage status was thereby linked to the act of conserving the site in order to preserve the integrity of these values. As I discussed above, invoking serves both to reinforce and to question the designation of significance. Here, the principles of World Heritage governance are reproduced in the justification for conservation of the site as 'natural'. The production of regular updates about the lahar decision meant that this discourse continued to be circulated. For example, the New Zealand submission on State of Conservation referred to previous documents from the World Heritage Bureau and IUCN in order to explain the state party's action in World Heritage terms.

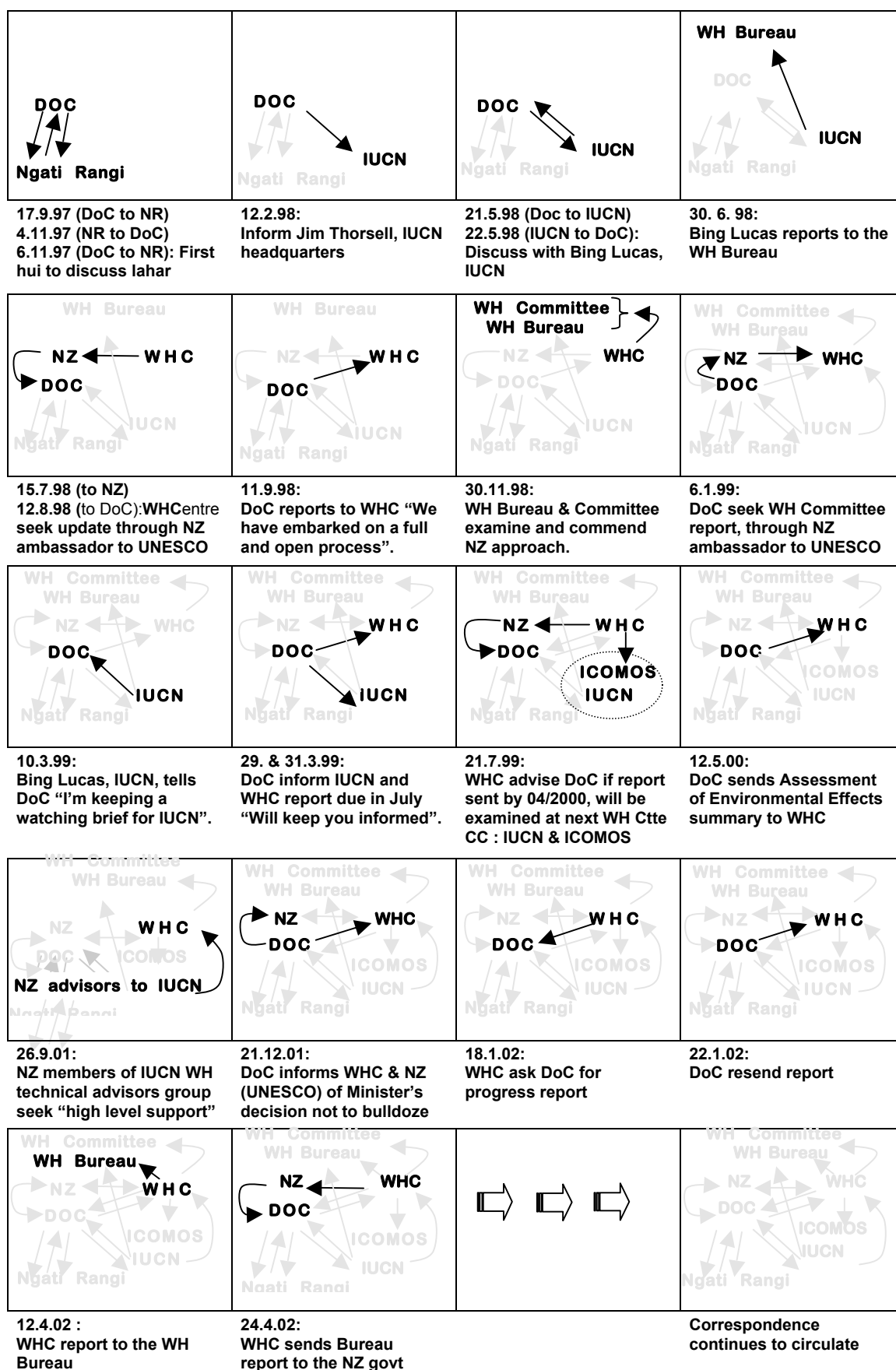


Figure 4. Correspondence on the Crater Lake Lahar in the World Heritage system

The New Zealand government stated that:

We are committed to a good consultation process and believe it will allow management decisions that, in your own words, will support 'an exemplary idea of ethics and conduct pertaining to field practices of conservation that emphasises social responsibility and cultural sensitivity'. We also believe that the statement on 'Imperatives for Protected Areas' produced by IUCN offers a way forward on the issue. (Department of Conservation 4 09 98, letter to World Heritage Centre)

These references work to bind national interests to the rationale of the global system. They reinforce the relations of the institution.

Drawing World Heritage status into the discussions adds further to the construction of the site as threatened. An intervention that affects the World Heritage values affects the efficacy of the World Heritage institution. The correspondence from the World Heritage Centre to the Department of Conservation demonstrates how this level of governance acts to protect its interests, but not in didactic ways. Reports of World Heritage Committee and Bureau discussions (extracts from the meeting rapporteurs' reports) convey how the international community voice their approval or concern. Statements include a précis of previous correspondence, a summary of the Bureau/Committee discussions and a short formal statement of the agreed position taken on the matter. The 1999 Bureau in Kyoto, for example, 'commended the New Zealand authorities for the ethically and culturally sensitive manner in which they are addressing this issue'. They further 'requested the Centre and IUCN to submit a status update on the management of the ash build up at the Crater Lake outlet on Mt Ruapehu to its 23rd Session in 1999' (UNESCO 1999a).

The actual machinations of these World Heritage Committee meeting discussions about the 'state of conservation' of sites vary considerably in the amount of attention given to the issues of each site. The number of sites due to be reported on at any one session affects the depth of Bureau/Committee consideration, as does the timetable for State of Conservation reporting in the week-long business of the Bureau/Committee. Recently agendas have been demanding and discussions have had to be well paced. At the 2002 Bureau I attended in Paris, the State of Conservation reporting session reviewed a number of contentious matters relating to other properties. Discussion on Tongariro was therefore brief. The lahar issue had been previously discussed, so members were familiar with the background of the matter. The Centre staff referred to these previous decisions and then presented new developments. In order to demonstrate that the conduct of these negotiations

met the Bureau's expectations, the World Heritage Centre staff member (Sarah Titchen) listed all the parties involved: 'a wide contribution', 'technical experts', 'civil defence experts', 'all relevant government departments', 'local committees of Maori and non-Maori'. As a solution (to install an early warning device) had been reached within the state party and because those negotiations conformed with World Heritage methods, there was little need for this forum to intervene. Nevertheless they were informed as practice dictates. There was one question, raised by the member for Thailand (who wanted to clarify that the engineering works really are not required, as first thought). After this was confirmed (by the World Heritage Centre staff member) the Bureau all nodded to the Chair and adopted the suggested recommendation as phrased by the World Heritage Centre. Because the state party presented its response to this issue in the language and logic of the World Heritage system, they met the scrutiny of the Bureau who welcomed the decision and 'hoped that all parties would accept them' (UNESCO 2002a, section XII.52).

The Bureau and Committee thereby approved the actions of the New Zealand state party, but did not tell them what they ought to do. Committee advice did not direct how the lahar risk should be managed. Yet the authority of the World Heritage system still had a bearing on this decision. Reviewing the correspondence it is the very flow of information that seems important: that states fulfil their international obligation through the transmission of reports. They enact the 'binding work' of the institution. In Figure 4, each arrow retraces these paths connecting the actors. Going through the hierarchy established on paper in the World Heritage Convention, the system is maintained through the circulation of information. Correspondence is a 'suture', a form of stitching that holds the World Heritage institution together so that the conservation of Tongariro is of mutual interest. Although many of the people performing these tasks know each other at a personal level (for example, Sarah Titchen at the World Heritage Centre has a long connection with the site), there is a protocol for communication through appropriate channels. At one stage in this chain of communication the New Zealand government sought to confirm who they should be writing to in order to ensure all were being kept informed and involved in the decision-making process.

By maintaining 'watching briefs' and asking each other for reports, the organisations keep information and opinion about the matter circulating. As with

the email science alert bulletin, these letters are a means by which the site exists in wider discourse. Communicating on the matter with distant experts gives international concern a real face and a postcode. The idea of a 'global' overseer is invoked locally. The imagined power of international government 'at a distance' works to support the national government's position.

The capacity for the 'global' context to influence the local working out of the issue is limited, however, by the nature of the international agreement. This was tested during the lahar discussions in September 1999 by a letter from 'New Zealand members of the IUCN World Heritage technical advisors group' (which included Department of Conservation staff) to the Director of the World Heritage Centre. It sought to solicit the influence of the World Heritage Centre in the national debate by 'reactivating correspondence between the Minister [the New Zealand Minister for Conservation] and the World Heritage Centre on this issue...offer[ing] positive assistance and support for options that deal with the Mt Ruapehu Crater Lake issue'. This group wanted direct World Heritage support for the decision not to intervene in the Lake. They included a pre-drafted letter (as they would for a Ministerial briefing) that overtly states the World Heritage Centre's support for this option. This pre-drafted letter was however never sent and the correspondence remained unanswered in the World Heritage Centre files. When I visited the Centre I asked about the correspondence and was told that this approach was not the way they would go about being involved in an issue. There are limits to what is an acceptable intervention by an international organisation in national affairs.

For Harry Keys (Department of Conservation Scientist) it's a 'funny relationship':

I mean it's a bit of a funny relationship, because obviously it's partly driven by New Zealand, and knowing that they have to report, knowing its World Heritage, and wanting World Heritage support for the World Heritage aspect of it, but at the same time recognising that New Zealand is autonomous and wanting to make its own decision. (Keys 2002, interview)

This question of states' rights is continually negotiated within the World Heritage Committee (as it is with many international treaties). In a situation such as this there is potential for a rupture in relations between national and international spheres of government. If the New Zealand government's position had differed from the World Heritage Committee then the discussions may have been more intense, although still conducted through established and limited processes. World Heritage listing includes an obligation to report on State of Conservation when requested so

that the site management can be scrutinised and compared with practices elsewhere. Were this monitoring to indicate 'negligence' or departure from World Heritage processes, then there is the possibility of an international reprimand.

5.6 'Global' Concern for 'the bureaucratic' and 'the sacred'

One method for registering global concern about a World Heritage site is to nominate the property to the 'List of World Heritage in Danger'. This List sits alongside the World Heritage List, and comprises those sites on the World Heritage List that are considered to be under threat, or have been damaged. The possibility that Tongariro might be nominated to this World Heritage in Danger List (if it looked like bulldozing was immanent) was considered by Department of Conservation staff. If it had been nominated for 'in Danger' Listing, the Department of Conservation would have had to defend the NZ governments' decision to bulldoze to the World Heritage Committee. It was of some relief then that the national and international authorities concurred. The New Zealanders particularly wished to avoid the situation that the Australian government faced in justifying their position on mining in Kakadu National Park. During the New Zealand decision-making process, Department of Conservation officials stressed the importance of compliance with World Heritage obligations when making a decision. Tongariro National Park Planner Greg Carlyon suggests that when:

You've got an international obligation, you've got a document that's been produced in a particular framework in a particular way and it's very robust. Then politicians are less inclined to make wild-arsed calls 'cause they probably believe that there's some depth to the original decision. (Carlyon 2002, interview).

In this case World Heritage has not just been referred to but invoked. The authority behind the symbolic designation was activated to influence the decision.

By defining sacred sites in 'global' context, the presumed 'depth' or 'robustness' of the 'global' designation contrasts with the sense of suspicion that often surrounds spiritual attachments to the landscape. The lahar decision was at times configured as a choice between believing in Maori spirits or behaving rationally to protect human life. Yet as the following editorial from the New Zealand the *Sunday Times* demonstrates, reference to international significance can alter these debates:

When a Maori spirit can stop the building of a highway many find their cultural tolerance strained past the limit, But in this Helen Clarke [NZ Prime Minister]

happens to be right. Britain would not build a motorway through Stonehenge. New Zealand must not ride roughshod over Maori taonga either. Of course, taniwha-type arguments are open to abuse. This just means once again that the point has to be argued and assessed. (*Sunday Times* 2002, Feb 2 pA6)

Comparing Maori cultural sites to Stonehenge, the editors position local cultural heritage debates in a global context.

But this editorial still leaves open a question about the validity of Maori claims. The tones of this query have some resonance with those expressed in Australia newspaper by journalist Bill Mandle. His column is cited by Ken Gelder and Jane Jacobs in their discussion of Australian sacred:

If Aborigines proclaim that a non-existent, never-having-existed serpent might object to the turning of a sod; if a legend of irrationality beyond human comprehension, even if it be of human invention or, more likely, of divine provenance, by way of burning bush or a meaningful rock arrangement, can be summoned to prevent something, then we pay attention. Our secular, scientific, rational, relativist, non-prescriptive society goes to water. (*Canberra Times* 1995, 26 March; cited in Gelder and Jacobs 1998, 65)

Gelder and Jacobs link this polemic to 'postcolonial racism' and a misguided sentiment that Aborigines are seen to have too much recognition. At Tongariro, tangata whenua do have a different status from the rest of the population through the explicit recognition of their cultural associations with the landscape. Calls for scrutiny of these cultural associations are a reaction by those who perceive that tangata whenua are given an unfair advantage. This skewed summing up of 'best interests', contrasts the cultural values of a few with the interests of the safety of the population at large.

World Heritage designation provides alternative ways of accounting for tangata whenua associations with Tongariro and seeks to make these cultural associations relevant to the 'population at large'. World Heritage appears to have a sense of rationality and method to its construction of places as sacred. Calling upon World Heritage status is therefore perceived as an invoking of credible authority rather than an invocation of spirits. Furthermore, because the interests of tangata whenua are evaluated as of 'universal' significance, it is argued that the 'associative cultural landscape' is not an exclusive designation. World Heritage status articulates a direct relationship between the tangata whenua sense of the sacred and the good of the general population. This argument is not widely understood. Nevertheless it does justify an alliance between sacred and governmental interests. Department of Conservation officer, Paddy Gordon, comments that World Heritage status 'helps

iwi [because] it has cultural values; it also carries more weight than if it was just a sole National Park' (Gordon 2002, interview). The added 'weight' of international scrutiny bolsters an existing alliance between NZ governmental authorities and tangata whenua. Heritage sites have been acknowledged as useful for the nation-state on a number of counts. Australian parliamentarians have, for example, recognised heritage as 'an important educational and cultural device' (House of Representatives Standing Committee in Environment & Conservation 1979, 57). Department of Conservation policy recognises the reciprocal values of tangata whenua involvement in land management. In the context of this debate, the Department of Conservation documented their consultations with iwi in their reports to the World Heritage Committee. They met the expectations of the international community and as a result the NZ decision-making process was commended for its 'cultural sensitivity'.

These sorts of relations between the 'bureaucratic' and the 'sacred' are examined by Gelder and Jacobs (1998). They describe how the designation of sacred sites (such as Guratba/Coronation Hill in the Northern Territory) 'are a means by which Aboriginal people could potentially exercise an exclusivity of use previously unattainable to them' (Gelder & Jacobs 1998, 67). Similarly the governmental recognition that Tongariro is tapu – a factor established by Horonuku's 'Gift' – allows tangata whenua a unique authority within the state structures of landscape management. There is not a total exclusivity, as with Treaty of Waitangi negotiations still underway the sovereignty of the land is in dispute. They are instead embroiled within a curious relationship. As Gelder and Jacobs (1998, 44) discuss, along with the unique authority comes a loss of exclusivity. Through 'conservation' recognition the sacred space becomes public. What was tapu and therefore 'untouchable and no longer to be put to common use' (Marsden 1992, 119) is translated through the logic of World Heritage to have relevance for 'the whole of humanity' and caught within the network of the World Heritage institution.

5.6.1 How the World Heritage system works to stabilise the unstable

Returning to the sequence of correspondence about lahar management, we see how governmental interest expands the number of actors involved. Not only are tangata whenua 'bound' to manage the site, but authority is extended to a range of others as

well. The local definition of Tongariro as sacred becomes re-presented away from the site. The sentiments of tangata whenua end up communicated by other authorities (in this set of documents mostly by the New Zealand Department of Conservation). Initial meetings between iwi and the Department of Conservation are recorded on the files as the earliest pieces of correspondence about the lahar and World Heritage. As other authorities in the World Heritage institution became involved, the Department of Conservation was the conduit for information about cultural values and gained power through this alliance, mediating between local interests, those of the state and those of the World Heritage institution.

We might invoke Andrew Pickering's 'mangle' as an appropriate metaphor for this process. Through the cycle of correspondence, the views of different actors take the form of exchanges of accommodation and resistance. This mangle of management negotiates between interests, drawing the arguments together into a body of discourse that works to support a considered outcome. The Assessment of Environmental Effects produced by the Department of Conservation presents the different views as evidence leading to a decision. Watching the flow of emails and faxes we see how a decision emerges temporally. The different actors provide new information about changes in the landscape or take up stronger positions in relation to counter-arguments as the debate progresses. Through the mangle of reporting, specific concerns are accounted for and approval is given. Pickering himself suggests that:

The social dimensions of scientific culture should be seen as themselves in the plane of practice and as always, in principle, subject to mangling there, just like and together with the material and conceptual dimensions. (Pickering 1995, 61)

These files contain, of course, artefacts of material, social and conceptual practices. The business of talking through the management of the lahar is a form of conservation action. Regardless of what the lahar does or does not wash away (when it ultimately does occur) the processes of the World Heritage institution have been successfully put into practice.

Because this is so, the institution maintains a position of stability. It is not so much that the authorities all occupy common ground (although they clearly share common principles), but that the combining of their views (even when they jar with one another) produces an interaction that animates heritage conservation. The lahar negotiation does test the value of heritage against other interests in the site, yet the practice of negotiating reinforces the relations of the institution. This stability in

relations enables the institution to maintain what John Law describes as a 'homeomorphic shape within the network'. As I described in Chapter 2, Law takes the sailing ship as his example of an object that is both malleable and homeomorphic:

It is unbroken if it is sustained within a stable network of relations with other entities. It is the stability of the syntax of those relations which is crucial. Hull, spars, sails, stays, stores, rudder, crew water, winds all of these have to hold in place functionally if we are to be able to point to an object and call it a (properly working) ship... all have to be enrolled and stay enrolled. (Law 2003, 95)

This idea of the object as the space where agents come together and inter-relate fits with Latour's description of an institution as 'the thread that holds the pearls of the necklace together' (1999a, 150). Keeping the relations of the object stable means that the institution itself can function dynamically.

Examining how the institution works in practice, it is worth asking how the object 'stays enrolled' – how the ship and the thread of pearls continue to function. Law writes that 'when a (network) object is enacted, so, too, a (network) world is being created with its own spatiality and its own versions of homeomorphism and rupture' (Law 2003, 97). The lahar debate has not yet ruptured the World Heritage institution at Tongariro. The Park continues to function as a World Heritage site, bringing together governmental and public interest in conservation. There was some testing of relations in the attempt to provoke direct World Heritage Centre involvement, but the rules of the interaction between site and Centre were maintained. Instead of direct intervention, the 'watching brief' and reporting cycle rehearsed the paths of interrelations (shuttling the beads along a familiar stretch of necklace). A rupture in relations might have occurred if the New Zealand government had acted with disregard for World Heritage responsibilities, or if the link between tangata whenua and the Department of Conservation had not been in place. In the Conclusion (Chapter 6) I consider how much 'room to move' there is within the spatiality of the World Heritage institution, and what it might take to rupture these relations.

In order for World Heritage to 'stay enrolled' at Tongariro there must be exchanges and flows of information about the World Heritage values. World Heritage values should be challenged, and thus better understood, through these negotiations. Doreen Massey makes the point that 'which meaning of a place will be hegemonic is always negotiated, and it is in that sense always the subject of power and politics'

(Massey 1994, 119). It cannot be assumed that World Heritage significance will always hold sway in site management debates. At a local level the dynamics may vary depending on who invokes World Heritage. In this case, the 'funny relationships' between the nation state and the international bureaucracy, and between indigenous cultural associations and universal symbolic value were productive. The lahar debate demonstrates how the multiple identities or meanings of the site, being at once local and global, work alongside each other. The government mangled together the different meanings of and interests in Tongariro, negotiating a decision and enacting the institution.

5.8 Conclusion

Heritage is mobile, reproducible and malleable in that it can be interpreted in many different ways for numerous and even conflicting purposes, sequentially or even simultaneously. (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000, 255)

Simply acknowledging the hybridity, multiplicity and malleability of heritage, as Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge do, may not go far enough in explaining the practice of heritage conservation. The institutional dynamics of heritage governance affect *how* heritage is malleable, and the purposes to which it is put. Certainly the multiple meanings of sites create a tangle of interests in heritage management. In this example, attempts to ameliorate threats to human life had to be considered in relation to threats to the heritage values of the 'natural' and 'cultural' landscape. The negotiations between actors, through processes such as the circulation of correspondence, determine how the designation of heritage value affects the real and dynamic landscape of Tongariro. The materiality of the landscape means that constructions that happily coincide in imagined space are drawn against each other in deciding what is an otherwise acceptable physical manifestation of meaning.

This was realised through the processes of governance established in relation to the World Heritage site. Authorities invoked the 'heritage values' inscribed during the World Heritage Listing of Tongariro to argue against intervention. They also sought expert advice about the dynamics of the landscape and what the plumes of steam may portend. Mediated by the interpretations of geologists and other advisors, the actions of the landscape were factored into the debate. So too, were the views of tangata whenua, whose authority at the local scale was represented by the state in the international debate. The international community approved of this alliance

between tangata whenua and the New Zealand government, as it met their standards of appropriate management. The debate has since been promoted as an example to 'other cases where in the future there would be an equal need to negotiate a management solution between the two cultures' (ICOMOS 2001, World Heritage Committee). At the site, interviewees like Harry Keys stated that the Crater Lake issue had helped them understand the position of tangata whenua better (Keys 2002, interview).

All of these negotiations held together the World Heritage institution and led to a stable, but dynamic, situation. The matter was resolved so that warning systems were put in place, safety bunds built, and the tangata whenua satisfied about minimum intervention. Consultation and reporting processes enabled the (re)instating of heritage conservation philosophy. In particular, the more abstract arguments about cultural value were explained to the public. The lahar is yet to occur (predicted for sometime between 2003 and 2005) and there are still some quibbles about positioning additional monitoring equipment. Yet the matter is considered resolved while all parties remain in agreement on the decision. All parties within the World Heritage institution, that is.

We might nevertheless consider the limits of this form of decision-making. World Heritage processes rely on the maintenance of a framework for interaction. Participation is articulated through established channels, dividing actors on the basis of specified roles. 'Successful' conservation practitioners behave according to established institutional norms. This means that authorities are constrained in the sorts of actions they can take. Brian Massumi questions the limits of institutional objects:

How does a body perform itself out of a definitional framework that is not only responsible for its very 'construction', but seems to prescript every possible signifying and counter-signifying move as a selection from a repertoire of possible permutations on a limited set of terms? (Massumi 2002, 3)

The possibilities for participation in these World Heritage negotiations were limited. Did this preclude alternative solutions? Did it exclude dissonant voices?

6.1 Introduction

This dissertation set out to explore the relations between Tongariro World Heritage site and the World Heritage system, and to reveal how the governable space of World Heritage is shaped ‘on the ground’. I have charted the transnational, governmental, technological, topological and cultural dimensions of these relations, drawing upon multi-sited research within the World Heritage system. This dissertation has addressed the research objectives (see Section 1.2) to examine the ways in which Tongariro, as a local World Heritage site, has been represented within ‘global’ World Heritage discourse, particularly in World Heritage Committee discussions. Examining this constellation of relations from another perspective, I considered how the ‘global’ system of governance is manifest at local World Heritage sites, in expected and unexpected ways. This inspired me to look deeper at the relationship between culture and World Heritage government, and to think about definitions of ‘cultural value’ in World Heritage discourse. I also took up the aim of analysing how power is exercised through World Heritage practices and the ways in which authority is given to scientific and bureaucratic knowledges. In so doing, I observed how ideas and techniques move within the network of the World Heritage system.

My thesis has revealed how World Heritage is manifest in four basic ways. Firstly, by the definition of spaces with sovereign territories as having a World Heritage value; secondly by the inclusion of that territory in a bureaucratic system to manage heritage; thirdly, through a tension between asserting sovereignty and participating in the transnational World Heritage system; and finally, by the obligation to contribute to the circulation of knowledge, a process which regulates the space and configures it within the technologic of the World Heritage project and wider environmental discourses. Each of these processes has been a negotiation between local aspirations and the aims of the World Heritage system. The case of Tongariro is a unique example of a World Heritage site, but nonetheless serves to demonstrate

the contingencies that are part of World Heritage practice. The dynamics of World Heritage management, moving between 'global' vision and grounded practices, and between Committee room and World Heritage site, are shaped by bureaucratic, cultural, governmental, and technological practices. As a transnational system of governance, decisions about how to best manage heritage are conducted within a network of relations. Actors work to promote both local and 'global' interests, drawing upon both the significance of World Heritage status and the significant features of the Tongariro landscape. This is not a simple intervention of 'globalisation', where the 'global' co-opts a local site, rather the processes of inscribing, instituting and invoking show how local, national and 'global' actors work with each other.

The previous chapters have explained several dimensions of the relationship between the World Heritage system and Tongariro World Heritage site. Firstly, the World Heritage system is both a mechanism for and product of governmental intervention in the relationship between people and landscape. Secondly, that engagement with the transnational World Heritage system has shaped the local identity and material landscape of Tongariro. Tongariro too has altered the WH system. Furthermore, World Heritage listing is manifest through the everyday practices of managing Tongariro World Heritage site. I have described these dimensions in relation to three key stages in the history of Tongariro as a World Heritage site. Chapter 3 presented a series of exchanges whereby Tongariro was inscribed within the World Heritage system. Chapter 4 examined practices of heritage management as technologies working to institute the global system in local terms. Chapter 5 discussed how the relations of the World Heritage system work to conserve both the system and Tongariro site from threats, each drawing authority from the other as the issue of how to deal with lahar risk was resolved.

This chapter reviews the core relations of the World Heritage system between the Tongariro landscape and the 'global' vision of the World's Heritage. I consider how the transnational system translates into local practices. The following sections summarise how World Heritage functions as a system, through transnational relations, bureaucratic and charismatic relations, technological relations and the network relations of the World Heritage system. My research has described a situation unique to Tongariro's place in the World Heritage system. There are however similar sorts of relations that develop between the system and other sites on the World Heritage List. I therefore also refer to my research about Tongariro to

address more general claims made about heritage, namely that ‘heritage is non-negotiable’ (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2004, radio interview). I argue that the practice of heritage conservation is very much a series of negotiations: between scales and between sites. I conclude with some reflections about the relationship between my findings and current debates within World Heritage discourse.

6.2 ‘Global’ and Local Relations within the Transnational System

There is a difference between the designation of World Heritage as a ‘global’ system, with ‘local’ sites, and the practices of governance at different scales. This thesis makes an important distinction between how ‘global’ and local are imagined within the World Heritage system and how they are enacted, by revealing practices which confer local or ‘global’ identity. This section reviews how the idea of the ‘global’ is being translated at local sites, like Tongariro and the World Heritage Centre. ‘Global’ interests are worked out in localities of practice. Conversely, ‘local’ World Heritage sites become representative of the World Heritage system. I also discuss how World Heritage listing promotes perceptions of Tongariro as both ‘globally’ important and locally unique.

This thesis employs the methodological concept of the network to show how ‘global’ actors operate locally. The ‘global’ idea of World Heritage is promoted through localised practices, including those that take place at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre offices, or in the World Heritage Committee room, as well as at Tongariro National Park. All these practices have been considered as local transactions within the World Heritage system, even though some practices (like World Heritage Committee meetings) are conducted by representatives from different nations, working to protect transnational interests and meeting at different geographical locations. By configuring the World Heritage system as a ‘constellation of relations’ rather than discrete scales of action it has also been easier to identify mechanisms by which the World Heritage system works to promote global interests. For example, the speech by World Heritage Centre Director, Bernd von Droste, at the official ceremony to celebrate Tongariro’s World Heritage (quoted in Chapter 4) demonstrated how local history can be configured to suit the purposes of this ‘global’ system. Although the ceremony was conducted locally at the World Heritage site, it was transnational and perpetuated the ‘global’ idea in the same way as a World Heritage Committee debate.

The idea of the 'global' is manifest in both overt and subtle ways in World Heritage practices. Overt statements about 'universal values' and 'the common heritage of humankind' promote World Heritage as a 'global' movement. The 'global' vision is promoted in less obvious ways, including strategies of 'displacement' (like the omission of place names) and implicit assumptions that technologies of management can be applied at all sites, no matter where. I have shown how the 'global' vision was inscribed at Tongariro through the 1998 celebrations and instituted through the development of the management plan. The perception that Tongariro is of 'global' significance was also influential in the lahar debate, according to Tongariro site management staff. They maintain that World Heritage listing was a significant factor in arguing the case against intervention at Crater Lake. This 'global' cachet has further consequences such as increasing tourist awareness of World Heritage sites (UNESCO 2000); encouraging other heritage sites and states to participate in the system; and promoting a sense of global responsibility that facilitates donations of resources and expertise between states parties. Emphasis on the 'global' aspects of World Heritage can be useful in heritage conservation terms if it serves to protect sites.

Yet, depicting World Heritage as 'global' also creates unreal expectations about what the World Heritage system represents and how it operates. While World Heritage discourse claims to represent 'universal' values, it is limited by the expertise used to categorise and assess heritage significance. The process of inscribing Tongariro has demonstrated that the system can accommodate new ways of defining heritage. Nonetheless it was not until Tongariro was nominated that associative cultural landscapes were considered within the scope of 'the common heritage of humankind', and there is still disagreement about whether this form of heritage is 'universal' (Cleere 2002, interview). Furthermore, the criteria of 'outstanding universal value' limit what the system is able to accommodate as 'World Heritage' by requiring comparative analysis between sites.

The World Heritage system also implies 'global' authority. A distinction ought to be made between the 'global' idea of World Heritage and the transnational governance through which it is enacted. As I have noted here, processes of transnational scrutiny by the advisory bodies, the World Heritage Bureau and the World Heritage Committee often represent disciplinary or national interests as much as any 'global' interest. Titchen asserts that 'the interdependence of the national and the

international is essential to the practical protective function of the Convention' (Titchen 1995, 3). World Heritage is a United Nations-based system so there is overlap with coalitions of national interests. Titchen has further noted that:

The Convention does not however distinguish between the nation as repository and protector of the cultural heritage and the people, past and/or present, responsible for cultural production. (Titchen 1995, 3)

While the 'global' sentiments of the World Heritage Convention refer to the values appreciated by all of 'humankind', the actual work of implementing World Heritage at sites is mediated by state party governments. As I have noted, it cannot be assumed that the support of a national government reflects the sentiments of all the resident population. This is one way, then, in which the perception of a 'global' World Heritage system can differ from the mechanics of practice.

6.2.2 *The Local as 'Global'*

My work has thus revealed a certain paradox within the World Heritage system: World Heritage listing celebrates the significance of sites, their essential value or 'genius loci', yet World Heritage listing at the same time defines sites within a 'constellation of relations', so that the identity (and official 'heritage values') of places are also defined by people, like members of the World Heritage Committee, away from the site. For example, the nomination of Tongariro to the World Heritage List (described in Chapter 3) defined the site against external criteria, and was not simply a nomination by the state party, but the result of transnational interest from the advisory body, IUCN, and others. Many of the individual actors within this transnational system act on behalf of several different institutions at once, so their actions may serve local and 'global' interests. Tongariro's place within the World Heritage system therefore means a celebration of the local, but in 'global' as well as local terms.

Hansen and Stepputat suggest that the 'ambiguities of the state' can be revealed in these sorts of relations, by keeping global and local perspectives in 'productive tension' with one another:

As both illusory as well as a set of concrete institutions; as both distant and impersonal ideas as well as localised and personified institutions; as both violent and destructive as well as benevolent and productive. (Hansen & Stepputat 2001, 14)

These sorts of dualities function within the World Heritage system, serving to keep it at once a 'global' vision and at the same time manifest in real sites. World Heritage sites are managed and interacted with on local terms, but also constituted by the

relations of the broader World Heritage system. In these interactions, a mediating role is often played by the state party/national government, as it has (state) responsibilities relating to both roles.

World Heritage has a presence in local debates because of perceptions (and misconceptions) of the authority of the 'global' World Heritage system and how it will intervene in the management of sites like Tongariro. The World Heritage Centre was petitioned, for instance, to intervene with 'global' authority in the Crater Lake lahar debate. A range of different actors from within the World Heritage system were involved (actively and passively) in the resolution of this issue. Interventions were made on behalf of 'global' interests, yet it cannot be said there was a decisive act of 'global' intervention in the debate. This example shows the complications of claiming that 'global' conservation systems are 'interventionist' (Adjer *et al* 2001, 701). World Heritage discourse may infer intervention (and/or benevolence or violence), but it is not so straightforwardly exercised. As my work has suggested, intervention, benevolence and violence are able to be exercised by those at the World Heritage site, just as they are by transnational actors representing the 'global' system.

6.3 The culture of governance and the governance of culture

The 'global' within World Heritage governance is promoted through what Hansen and Stepputat have defined as 'symbolic languages of authority and practical languages of governance' (Hansen & Stepputat 2001, 8). As this thesis has shown, the authority of World Heritage is conveyed in the conduct of relations between actors in the World Heritage system, such as: the style of World Heritage meetings, the emphasis on 'objective' processes for assessing sites, and the obligations that states parties report about activities (like volcanic events) taking place at World Heritage sites. These cultural practices promulgate the philosophies on which the World Heritage system was founded by carrying conservation logics through into practice. I recount these authorities here, and go on to describe the technological practices of governance.

Chapter 2 identified ways that authority is made in the World Heritage system by privileging particular types of knowledge and practices. The examples cited in this thesis have described how scientific discourses, managerial discourses, and discourses of benevolence have been engaged in the listing of Tongariro. The

requirement of scientifically-informed standards, for example, is a means by which heritage is made governable, as the 'values' of sites are defined in proscribed terms. The use of 'objective' advisory bodies to assess heritage significance further promotes comparability between sites and emphasises the modern approach to categorising heritage in a 'global' schema. There is also an expectation that World Heritage sites are managed according to similar principles, and are thus potentially 'normalised' by the World Heritage system.

These authorities have textual bases. The World Heritage Convention is a legal document, regularly referred to in order to guide transnational interactions and conservation practices. Legal opinion is also sought to determine appropriate action in the Convention's terms (and a UNESCO legal officer sits in on World Heritage Committee meetings). Official texts that carry authority in relation to Tongariro, include the Committee decisions of 1990 (Banff) and 1993 (Cartagena), and the draft management plan. The draft management plan has authority because it carries the directions of government and because of its ability to account for the heritage of the site and threats to and interests in it. The values articulated in the draft Tongariro National Park management plan represent the justification for 'global' interest and are the product of the scientific evaluation of the site. These values therefore influence other aspects of management practice.

Protection of heritage values from threat is a central logic within the heritage paradigm. The need to plan and act to prevent threats gives authority to managerial discourses and reasons for 'global' interventions. Adjer *et al* identify a disjunction between managerial discourse and popularist discourse in this regard, as global environmental management advocates external intervention as the solution, whereas populist discourse often blames the problems on external intervention (Adjer *et al* 2001, 705). In the case of Tongariro I did not record any overt suggestion that the World Heritage system was an unwelcome intervention, although the careful way in which tangata whenua were informed of World Heritage listing suggests that the New Zealand government went to lengths to avoid this sort of implication. Rather, the World Heritage system has been solicited to intervene to help protect Tongariro, in the ways described on pp 115-8 above.

If, however, the local definitions of a site are changed through World Heritage listing, what does this mean for the 'associative cultural values' of the Tongariro

landscape? Cultural aspects of Tongariro have been emphasised at most stages in the history of the World Heritage site, through the inscription of meaning, the institution of government, and the invoking of authority and symbolic power in relation to interventions in culture and landscape. Development of the 'cultural landscapes' category has recognised and helped to promote this type of local particularity in the global imagination.

In discussing the development of the management plan, we have seen how Western conservation practice and Maori conservation philosophy worked together. The pre-existing forms of governance at Tongariro, through kaitiakitanga and the national park movement are presented in the draft management plan as coherent with World Heritage practice. The draft plan describes how a conservation ethic has been inscribed as part of the nomination, because the relation between traditional lore and the Tongariro landscape as a sacred site is the crucial object of heritage interest. The World Heritage system generally recommends techniques for managing the physical heritage of sites, but in the case of Tongariro and other 'associative cultural landscapes' (and potentially other sites too) the cultural values are in themselves a system of management. These cultural values are not simply what *is* managed (as heritage practice generally assumes), but contribute *to* management. Recognising associative cultural values has legitimated tangata whenua agency in World Heritage site management, building upon the existing relationship of the National Park.

This relationship between tangata whenua and park managers was borne out during the Crater Lake lahar debate. There was a coalition between tangata whenua, speaking on behalf of 'cultural values'; National Park managers, arguing in terms of conservation status and international recognition; and scientific interests seeking to protect the integrity of 'natural processes'. These multiple meanings bound up in the landscape, in the end, prevented intervention in the Lake. The proposed intervention was considered as threatening to the physical World Heritage site. And it also meant a threat to the conservation interests of these groups, including the 'global' interest in the landscape. By acting to maintain World Heritage values, governmental authority was indirectly exercised by the state party government and tangata whenua. In this case the cultural values actively protected the World Heritage system.

Because the World Heritage system is manifest in the sites it defines, World Heritage sites are a way of reinforcing governmental authority and charisma, and reinforcing the idea of global community. Kaplan, in her discussion of authenticity and charisma in colonial Fiji, considered what happens when cultural practices are given governmental approval. Kaplan contrasts Foucauldian descriptions of truth production with Max Weber's discussion of institutionalised religion:

Max Weber wrote of routinisation as the tragic and inevitable fate of authentic charisma, when institutionalised religion smooths its own forward passage. Foucault's interest in technologies of making truth and power reverses the image: truth production and maintenance is immanent in the technologies; the routinizing powers do not enervate authentic charisma, but hide their own mana by celebrating their authorities. Foucault sees the reality in the officializer and his method, not the officialized and his charismatic genius. (Kaplan 1995, 208-9)

Kaplan's analysis connects with my own research findings at Tongariro, in that tangata whenua associations with the Tongariro landscape can be described in both these ways. In one sense the indigenous relations with Tongariro are institutionalised by World Heritage listing and could be affected as a result and, in another, an emphasis on the co-production of site management practices shows how tangata whenua gain authority through their involvement in World Heritage governance.

One of the most common questions asked about World Heritage is: why does it matter? An answer I received in Tongariro, was: 'World Heritage clearly ups the ante' (Keys 2002, interview). Just the name, 'World Heritage', invokes importance and increases the status of the place. This thesis has shown how charisma is generated within heritage government, and in particular how it is associated with the World Heritage concept. Following on from my discussion in Chapter 3 about the charisma generated by the 'gifting' of Tongariro, I have described how participation in the World Heritage system also confers charisma on sites like Tongariro. Furthermore, as the lahar example has shown, charisma associated with the World Heritage system has the power to influence domestic debates. Paramount Chief Tumu Te Heuheu noted that World Heritage is recognised by tangata whenua as a way of influencing relations with the New Zealand government (Te Heuheu 2002, interview). Tangata whenua can draw from the symbolic power of the organization and form strategic alliances (as can other groups, like geophysicists, too). Status is conferred through World Heritage practice and maps back to definitions of value and actions taken to 'manage' the meaning of sites.

This is a governmental ensemble and, as Foucault has suggested, modern

government works through processes of calculation, normalisation and surveillance. These processes provide information that guides management and influences the exercise of governmental power. In particular, the epistemological and genealogical basis of the Convention promotes some ways of understanding heritage places above others. We can see how authority is given to technical expertise and how knowledge is used to justify intervention. Finally, as the term 'World Heritage' continually reminds us, this is an international network and so by reflecting on earlier colonial modes of international relations, we gain insight into some consequences of the exercise of power over such distances and between different cultural contexts.

6.4 Technological and Network Relations

The World Heritage system is further enacted through the 'technological practices of governance' which, as Hansen and Stepputat suggest, help to maintain territory, control knowledge and pedagogic processes, and generate resources and 'management' (Hansen & Stepputat 2001, 8). To these ends, the World Heritage institution promotes particular techniques for conserving sites and performing administrative tasks (including workshop sessions on UNESCO filing practice!). This thesis has demonstrated the linkages between the promotion of technological practices and the maintenance of the World Heritage system, through a network of relations. In this section I discuss the importance of technological practices for the networked institution by examining, how the World Heritage system works across distances, through institutional and individual actors, how bonds are formed between localities; and how they work to stabilise the World Heritage system.

Forms of practical intervention – like requiring that sites have a management plan – are technologies for 'government at a distance'. Through monitoring procedures, the World Heritage Centre is kept informed and, in turn, informs the Committee about management practices at World Heritage sites. As the case of Tongariro's World Heritage nomination shows, however, there is sometimes misunderstanding when policy travels across a distance. Like Clayton, I consider that these relations involve 'different forms of power that operate at different scales, working on and around places' (Clayton 2000, 240). What is appropriate in one location of practice does not necessarily correspond to others. Although people at Tongariro have expressed concern that the World Heritage nomination process did not consult the tangata whenua in the 'right way', at the time of inscription, in the World Heritage

Committee meeting room this did not matter in order to achieve World Heritage status. At the site, however, tangata whenua attitudes were considered significant and so the celebration of World Heritage listing was delayed. This goes to show that inclusion in the decision making process in one locality does not automatically mean that participation extends through the World Heritage system. Not all actors are equal in networks of practice, and 'government at a distance' has a varying reach.

6.4.1 Actors in the World Heritage system

There has historically been an alliance between scientists and conservation policy-makers and bureaucrats, who work together within the technologic of the World Heritage Convention, as scientific expertise is given authority within the system. The World Heritage Centre often acts as a hub for these exchanges (as correspondence flows show: see Figure 4). The Centre has power in choosing when to release information and a responsibility to translate (and transfer) reports between the World Heritage Committee and World Heritage Sites.

The case study of Tongariro identified other key individuals who have acted as translators of World Heritage discourse. Park Manager Paul Green suggested that previous Kaupapa Atawhai (Maori liaison) manager Hemi Kingi increased the profile of World Heritage status amongst Maori:

There was very little understanding of what [World Heritage] was and perhaps quite a big deal of suspicion. And probably, it was only really the arrival of Hemi on staff, who read a lot... and understood the international scene, that there was a Maori person actively supporting [World Heritage]. (Green 2002, interview)

Other key actors include Bing Lucas, from IUCN, who worked to generate the Tongariro nomination and was involved in reporting about the lahar, and Sarah Titchen, who assessed Tongariro for ICOMOS and later administered information about the site as a World Heritage Centre staff member. These people have worked to form the bonds that create the constellation of relations of a World Heritage site. In Allen's terms they have instituted the 'diverse cross-cutting arrangements through which power is exercised' (Allen, 2004, 29).

This thesis has focused on the relations between actors in the World Heritage system, to show how links are formed by the exercise of power. Relations span multiple scales, from local to transnational (and are imagined as having a 'global' or 'universal' reach). Each act of management and each interaction is an exercise of power and a network link that joins objects, represents relations, and is a real-time

record or snapshot of World Heritage practice. Processes like submitting a nomination to the World Heritage List create a series of exchanges between scales and between sites. These negotiations have been studied by following the recommendation of Meaghan Morris (referred to in Chapter 1) to examine the ‘multiple mediations and refractions’ of responses to policy (Morris 1998, 118), and by representing World Heritage interactions as, following Pickering, a ‘mangle of practice’ (Pickering 1995).

6.4.2 Negotiations and World Heritage

The ‘mangle’ is a useful metaphor for illustrating the dynamics of ‘accommodation and resistance’ between different actors and for imagining how these negotiations in sequence, come to bind actors within the institution. By taking the time to see how each individual exchange contributed to the discussion of the Crater Lake lahar within the World Heritage system, it was revealed how the most decisive action was taken within the state party government without direct intervention by any transnational actor. The fact that the New Zealand state party was nevertheless required to report meant a series of exchanges on the matter (and there will probably continue to be discussion until the lahar occurs). The ‘mangle’ helps to understand therefore how reporting processes work through issues, and what is required to demonstrate amelioration of threat, satisfying the goals of the World Heritage system.

The exchanges of correspondence about the Crater Lake lahar, also demonstrated how negotiations bind together a range of actors in the institution. The network is maintained by World Heritage practices, strengthened by the interactions between actors. The fact that World Heritage designation appears ‘robust’ is key to the power it conveys. It is therefore ironic that the act of invoking World Heritage status also tests the justification for World Heritage conservation. During the lahar debate, the verity of ‘global’ significance of the landscape values was not doubted, although it could have been a possible moment for World Heritage status to be questioned. In fact, as it turns out, the World Heritage system was enhanced by the claims that it had helped to protect the integrity of the cultural and natural landscape. Incidents like this therefore demonstrate the network topology of the World Heritage system, and how the technologies of World Heritage practice serve to reinforce the values of the system.

6.5 Interventions & Aspirations

On the basis of this research, I feel justified in making an intervention in popular discussion about heritage, namely to refute Galla's claim that 'Heritage is non-negotiable' (Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2004, radio interview with Prof. A Galla). I believe that heritage is very much the product of negotiations, as it is through the process of arguing for the conservation of sites like Tongariro that the meaning of these places comes to be defined. Moreover, managing sites must be a negotiation too, as different interests are worked through a 'mangle of practice' and conservation actions are agreed. The World Heritage system is bound together by negotiated relations. Professor Galla's claim is worth attending to, as it belies an attitude that I referred to earlier, that is, the sense in which heritage conservation is thought to be morally right and proper. The World Heritage system has authority because of this popular opinion, which believes that heritage absolutely must be conserved, and within a legal and governmental framework. I agree that heritage conservation is an important facet of modern life, but insist that heritage is never something just there to be adopted. Rather it needs to be worked with so that the values of the heritage are defined.

Perhaps because of the urgency with which some sites are considered in need of 'saving', heritage can be championed as a cause in itself, without reference to the multiple reasons for which a site is significant. This is also a product of the 'objective' approach taken within World Heritage discourse that speaks in terms of 'universals' to avoid any suggestion of any overtly nationalistic use of World Heritage listing. This stance can be dangerously blind to the many meanings or uses of heritage and to the contingent and sometimes contradictory relationships that arise through heritage conservation practices. At a time when the World Heritage Committee is seeking to ensure the 'credibility' of the World Heritage Convention, it is particularly important to explore the negotiations and uncertainties of heritage management as well as the more straightforward and quantitative measures of the success of the system.

Accounts such as this of the Tongariro World Heritage site are useful in revealing the exchanges that take place between different actors in the World Heritage system. As with 'the gifting' of Tongariro in 1887, both the nominations of Tongariro to the World Heritage List have entailed a series of negotiations and obligations. The Department of Conservation, for example, decided which pieces of sacred Tongariro

land were suitable for heritage conservation under this system and which were too important (and so left the Ketatahi Hot Springs out of the World Heritage nomination). By examining heritage sites in terms of network transactions we identify who is involved in making decisions and defining heritage values. Particularly in the World Heritage system, where there is a protocol about representation, it is worth focussing in on the micro-politics to acknowledge the different actors who contribute (and those who dissent) and to consider why.

This research is in contrast to the broader ‘Global Strategy’ assessments currently being conducted by the advisory bodies at the behest of the World Heritage Committee. These grand surveys that seek to assess all sites of potential World Heritage value seem logical within the World Heritage governance framework of calculation and expertise, and yet ridiculously impossible at the same time. It is difficult to imagine that these surveys will adequately capture ‘heritage in all its diversity’ (as the Convention states). As Morris asserts, a ‘universalising logic does not necessarily imply a universal outcome’ (Morris 2000, 21).

For this reason I have here examined World Heritage from the other direction, following Foucault’s advice:

Not to formulate the global systematic theory which holds everything in place, but to analyse the specificity of mechanisms of power, to locate the connections and extensions, to build little by little a strategic knowledge. (Foucault 1980, 145)

This approach has enabled me to make an alternative assessment about questions of credibility and ‘global’ authority in the World Heritage system. Because the World Heritage system is manifest in sites, the effects of World Heritage listing at places like Tongariro are a measure of the transnational system.

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A PPENDICES

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WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

Preamble

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLDS
CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization meeting in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972, at its seventeenth session,

Noting that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction,

Considering that deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world,

Considering that protection of this heritage at the national level often remains incomplete because of the scale of the resources which it requires and of the insufficient economic, scientific, and technological resources of the country where the property to be protected is situated,

Recalling that the Constitution of the Organization provides that it will maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's heritage, and recommending to the nations concerned the necessary international conventions,

Considering that the existing international conventions Recommendations and resolutions concerning cultural and natural property demonstrate the importance, for all the peoples of the world, of safeguarding this unique and irreplaceable property, to whatever people it may belong,

Considering that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole,

Considering that in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, by the granting of collective assistance which, although not taking the place of action by the State concerned, will serve as an efficient complement thereto,

Considering that it is essential for this purpose to adopt new provisions in the form of a convention establishing an effective system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods,

Having decided, at its sixteenth session, that this question should be made the subject of an international convention,

Adopts this sixteenth day of November 1972 this Convention.□

APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS Tongariro Fieldwork - Setting Interview Questions

Introduction

Following my first week or two at Tongariro, attending meetings, reviewing documents and familiarizing myself with the place and the people, I interviewed selected individuals. The interviews were semi-structured and followed a schedule of open answer questions. Three sets of questions were devised - one set for each of the main groups of interviewees:

Group A. Department of Conservation (DoC) staff at Tongariro National Park

Group B. Tangata whenua for Tongariro – the traditional custodians

Group C. Those involved in NZ WH, outside the site (eg DoC Head office, NZ ICOMOS, NZ Commission for UNESCO)

The questions are grouped around 8 themes: Being World Heritage, Local Knowledge, Cultural Values, Cultural Landscape- the process of listing, Cultural Landscape – definition of the category, Indigenous Representation, Management, and Committee/Site relations. Combinations of questions from these vary between groups.

These themes have arisen through the processes of document analysis, and observation of Bureau and Committee meetings, that I have engaged in through my project thus far. The process of interviewing was designed to cast new light on my thinking on these topics, testing my assumptions, particularly about Eurocentricity, the capacity for local involvement, and about the expectation for/ desire for local involvement in other localities of WH practice

These, then, are the questions that I asked of interviewees. I have here only included one sample question sheet, that for Park management staff, as there is considerable overlap between all three sets of questions.

Group A - DoC staff in the Tongariro/Taupo Conservancy

i) How long have you been working in the Conservancy

If around since 1990 or 1993

I'm interested in stories about Tongariro becoming a WH site...

1. Cultural Landscape- the process of listing

1.1 (How) were you involved in either or both (1990 and/or 1993) nomination of Tongariro to the WH List?

1.2 How did that process come about?

1.3 Follow-up questions re the chain of events

1.4 Did everyone agree on whether it should be nominated?

1.5 Who was involved in putting together the nomination?

1.6 Re 1990 – How was the IUCN mission conducted – who did they meet?

1.7 Re 1993

ii) As a renomination, was this approached differently?

iii) Did the creation of the category of cultural landscape influence the nomination?

iv) What kind of information were you required to provide to show that Tongariro is a cultural landscape?

v) How were the boundaries of the area decided? (exclusion of Ketatahi hot springs)

1.8 If you were to work on the Cultural landscape nomination a second time over, what would you do differently?

2. Cultural Landscape – definition of the category

2.1 Do you think defining the site as a cultural landscape is an adequate description of the cultural values of the site?

3. Cultural Values

3.1 The cultural value for which Tongariro is on the WH list is

Is this an adequate description?

3.2 How else would you describe the cultural values of the site?

3.3 Are there aspects of culture that can't be put into words?

3.4 How is cultural heritage managed in the Park?

3.5 Has being listed as a WH cultural landscape influenced this?

3.6 Is there a difference between cultural heritage management inside the Park and outside? Or between different areas within the Park?

3.7 Does the emphasis on the landscape affect conserving culture?

3.8 Are Maori ways of looking after country integrated in Park practice?

3.9 Who is responsible for recording culture?

3.10 How are cultural values monitored, i.e. for the WH periodic report?

3.11 Tongariro is an associative cultural landscape – are there other places that you think would meet the same criteria / should be listed in this way?

3.12 Have there been any issue about management of cultural values in the Park?

If so, how were these negotiated?

4. Management

4.1 What kind of involvement do you personally have in the day to day management of Tongariro?

4.2 What do you see as the main management issues facing the Park?

4.3 How are tangata whenua involved in management?

4.4 How do traditional knowledge/practices overlap/conflict with a conservation agenda?

4.5 Are there different rules regarding Tangata whenua at Tongariro?

4.6 The management plan states:.....How does that work in practice?

4.7 Recently the WH Bureau considered a State of conservation report about lahar management. How were you involved in those negotiations?

- 4.8 Do you think the Park is managed differently from other NZ National Parks because it is a WH area? How?
- 4.9 What lessons learnt here would you like to see passed on to other National Parks/World Heritage sites?
- 4.10 How do you monitor WH conservation?

5. Local Knowledge

- 5.1 What knowledge is important for managing the site?
- 5.2 Which people/individuals are important?
- 5.3 What experience/knowledge of Tongariro would you like visitors to have?
Different for NZ visitors?
- 5.4 How is/should this be conveyed?
- 5.5 Is tourist behavior appropriate at important sites?
- 5.6 I'm interested in the story relating to the gift of the Park... Do you think the state of the Park today casts the gift in a good light?

6. Being World Heritage

- 6.1 What effect has becoming a WH site had on Tongariro?
Follow up questions:
Has WH status assisted conservation?
In what ways is WH status empowering/dis-empowering?
- 6.2 To what degree are local people aware of its WH status?
- 6.3 How is information about WH presented?
- 6.4 How is information about WH site management conveyed to you?
- 6.5 What kind of interaction have you had with the WH Centre, other WH sites, or other WH connections?
- 6.6 Have you ever had cause to question WH processes?
- 6.7 How do you feel about the process that WH uses to judge culture and natural heritage?
- 6.8 How do tangata whenua feel about WH listing?
- 6.9 Has it made a difference to local livelihoods?

7. Committee/Site relations

- 7.1 Have you been to a Bureau/Committee meeting?
- 7.2 How do you think the Bureau/Committee should be involved in site management?
- 7.3 (How)are you told about WH Bureau and Committee meetings?
- 7.4 What effect do Bureau/Committee decisions have?
- 7.5 Is there support from these WH bodies that you feel you are missing out on?
- 7.6 Are there ways that you could contribute that have not been solicited?

8. Indigenous Representation

- 8.1 Are tangata whenua interests well represented in WH debates?
Why so/Why not?
- 8.2 What alliances with other indigenous peoples have been developed?
- 8.3 Were you involved in the WHPCOE proposal?
If yes
Why?
What types of knowledge/expertise are tangata whenua able to offer? What kind of indigenous representation do you think is appropriate in this forum? What happened in Helsinki?
- 8.4 What other means for local involvement can you see as possible within the WH framework?

9. Closing questions

- 9.1 How can my work be of assistance to you – what kinds of questions are you curious about? Or would be useful to your work?
- 9.2 Do you have any further comments?
- 9.3 Do you have any advice about other people who may be interested in talking with me?

James Cowan's (1927) version of the Gift Story:

A sitting of the Native Land Court was held in Taupo in March, 1886... attended by Te Heuheu and all the other chiefs of Ngati-Tuwaharetoa, besides a large number of the people of the various tribes inhabiting the country around the great lake. The Court was held in the old courthouse which was also the Taupo schoolhouse. Many a deeply tattooed warrior chief of the old order was there; many who had fought against the Government, others who had taken up arms for the Queen against their Hauhau fellow-countrymen. Towering over them all in hereditary nobility of rank was Te Heuheu, the kingly head of a tribe that had always held its territory against assault of war from the coast-dwelling clans. Te Heuheu was a man of about sixty-six years, white-haired, tattooed of face like nearly all his contemporaries. As adviser and agent with him was Mr. Lawrence M. Grace, M.H.R. for Tauranga, who had been his friend and neighbour for many years, whom indeed he had known since Grace's childhood; for the mission station was close to the great pa, Pukawa. Horonuku's daughter Kahui was married to Mr. Grace.

After other areas of Taupo-nui-a-Tia had been dealt with by the Judge, Major Scannell, the question of the apportionment and disposal of the mountains Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu came up for settlement. When this subject was being discussed, Mr. Grace noticed that the old chief looked troubled - *pouri*. At the adjournment the two of them went out on to the veranda of the Court building, and then Te Heuheu told his friend that he was disturbed in mind about the future, of his sacred mountains. 'If,' he said, 'our mountains of Tongariro are included in the blocks passed through the Court in the ordinary way, what will become of them? They will be cut up and perhaps sold, a piece going to one pakeha and a piece to another. They will become of no account, for the tapu will be gone. Tongariro is my ancestor, my tupuna; it is my head; my mana centres round Tongariro. My father's bones lie there to-day. You know how my name and history are associated with Tongariro. I cannot consent to the Court passing these mountains through in the ordinary way. After I am dead, what will be their fate? What am I to do about them?'

Mr. Grace agreed that it was undesirable to permit these famous mountains to be dealt with in the ordinary way. They should be regarded as tapu from private hands. 'Now,' said he to the old chief, 'why not make them a tapu place of the Crown, a sacred place under the mana of the Queen? That is the only possible way in which to preserve them for ever as places out of which no person shall make money. Why not give them to the Government as a reserve and park, to be the property of all the people of New Zealand, in memory of the Te Heuheu and his tribe?'. 'Yes,' said the old man; 'that is the best course, the right thing to do! They shall be a sacred place of the Crown, a gift for ever from me and my people.'

When Mr. Grace returned with Te Heuheu to the Court, the suggestion was placed before the Judge, and was agreed to by the people. By common consent the mountain tops were left in the hands of Te Heuheu and his family. Thereupon Mr. Grace drew out a brief document offering the peaks to the Crown. It was signed by Te Heuheu, with whom were associated for the purposes of the gift a number of his principal co-chiefs. This preliminary deed of gift, written on a sheet of foolscap paper, was sent to the Government. (Cowan 1927, excerpt from Chapter II: The Mountains of the Gods, pages 29-33)

EXTRACT ON WORLD HERITAGE
FROM THE
TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK
DRAFT PLAN OF MANAGEMENT 2002

The park is on a pedestal with other great monuments around the world. Stonehenge, the Great Wall of China and the Grand Canyon share similar attributes to the park in the international context. In April 2006 there were 812 World Heritage sites, internationally recognised as having met global benchmarks for their cultural or natural properties. The park is one of only 24 sites worldwide which have World Heritage status for both their natural and cultural heritage. The natural landscape was acknowledged as a World Heritage Site in 1990 and the park's cultural heritage was recognised in 1993.

In 1993 the park was the first site in the world to receive recognition by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) under its then revised cultural criteria describing cultural landscapes. This was advocated on behalf of all New Zealanders by Tumu Te Heuheu, now paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, at the UNESCO Conference in Berlin.

In the global context, the park has the following attributes which are consistent with the UNESCO criteria for natural and cultural heritage:

- it contains superlative natural phenomena and exceptional natural beauty;
- it represents significant ongoing geological processes and geomorphic features;
- it contains values of outstanding universal significance from the point of view of science and conservation;
- it is directly and tangibly associated with events, living traditions, ideas, and beliefs of universal significance;
- it is representative of the culture of Ngati Tuwharetoa;
- it is vulnerable to impacts and irreversible change; and
- it represents an interchange of human values and cultural ideas over time.

Importantly, UNESCO views the park as a stable site in a protective legislative framework capable of having its attributes maintained in a pristine state in perpetuity

World Heritage listing does not undermine or detract from the existing legislative regime. Although it does not impose additional legal requirements, it requires that the park be managed consistent with the articles against which the applications were approved. World Heritage status could be argued to impose the highest privilege on New Zealanders as guardians to manage this unique site for all of humanity. The fundamental concepts of the World Heritage convention can be summarised as 'protection of natural and cultural heritage of outstanding universal value, i.e., World Heritage'. A principle underlying the World Heritage convention is that of intergenerational equity and the need to ensure that the world's natural and cultural heritages are identified, preserved and transmitted to future generations. Central to this plan is the implementation of the department's commitment as a state party to the convention.

In a practical sense, the department's commitment was tested as it assessed and resolved issues arising from the volcanic eruption cycles of 1995 and 1996, which created a number of hazards to the Volcanic Plateau community. Both the 1990 Tongariro National Park Management Plan and World Heritage articles strongly imply that natural processes should be able to run their course. Following extensive community debate at all levels and a thoroughly researched assessment of park management processes which was

independently peer-reviewed, the Minister and the New Zealand Government endorsed that position through imposing a hazard management regime not requiring intervention in the Mount Ruapehu massif (also refer to section 4.1.14.1 Volcanic Hazards). Community agencies, developers, regulatory authorities, conservation organisations, and the Crown have acknowledged and accepted the need to support the core principles of World Heritage.

As the country moves into the third millennium there is no question that the department now manages the park in a global context. Decision making in that context is developing as understanding and appreciation of such special sites increase. As pressure grows on protected sites internationally, so must decision making evolve to cope with that pressure, so that the park can be preserved in perpetuity for New Zealand and the international community.

(Department of Conservation 2000, 25-6)

TREATY OF WAITANGI PRINCIPLES
IN THE
TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK DRAFT PLAN OF MANAGEMENT 2002

These two versions are presented for comparison in the Pukenga Atawhai (cultural training) course offered by the Department to its staff. I will write more about the circumstances of the course in Chapter 6. The two versions are:

The literal English translation of the Maori text:

Article (i) The Chiefs of the Confederation, and all those chiefs who have not joined in that confederation, give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete Government (Kāwanatanga) over their lands.

Article (ii) The Queen of England agrees to protect the Chiefs, the subtribes, and all the people of New Zealand, in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship (Rangatiratanga) over their lands, their villages and all their treasures (Ngā taonga katoa – everything that is precious). But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the other Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at the price agreed to by the person owing it and the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The English version of the Treaty

Article (i) The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely, and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article (ii) Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of the Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to maintain the same in their possession, but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the Individual Chiefs yield to her Majesty the exclusive rights of Pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

(cited in Department of Conservation 2000, 27-8)